

V I E W
OF THE
R U S S I A N E M P I R E
DURING THE REIGN OF
CATHARINE THE SECOND,
AND TO THE
CLOSE OF THE PRESENT CENTURY.

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IN THREE VOLUMES.
VOL. II.

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V F W

AMERICAN EMPIRE

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ПРЕЗИДЕНТСКАЯ
БИБЛИОТЕКА
КОЛЛЕКЦИЯ РЕДКИХ КНИГ

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VIEW

V I E W
OF THE
RUSSIAN EMPIRE.

B O O K II.

HISTORICAL VIEW OF THE NATIONS OF THE
RUSSIAN EMPIRE.

S E C T I O N III.

Mongoles.

FROM the cold northern regions of the Finns, we now proceed across the south-eastern asiatic steppes to the confines of modern Siberia, there to trace out the primitive seat of a nation, once the terror and the scourge of more than one quarter of the world, which has spread itself over a great part of both the northern and southern hemispheres, and whose furious thirst of conquest, for several ages together, has plunged Russia into dissolution and ruin.

The MONGOLES *, a nation remarkable as the disturbers of the world, every where extended their ravages, as if the annihilation of the human race had been their ultimate object. Had not their violences brought about revolutions in the state of governments and of mankind, and produced consequences that are still visible, the historian would never have profaned his pen by recording the catastrophes of these barbarians, and their bloody trophies would long ago have been consigned to oblivion.

The antient history of the Mongoles is partly quite unknown and partly fabulous. In the ninth century three nations appeared roaming about the northern side of China and Korea, in countries whereof the Greeks and Romans had never heard : in the west, or in modern Mongolia, the Mong-u, who in the sequel were called Monk-kos and Mongoles ; farther to the east the Kitanes ; and, lastly, beyond Korea as far as the Eastern-ocean the Niudsches or Kin, who

* That, contrary to the usual position of the nations of Russia, the Mongolians are treated of before the Tartars, is, because the events that beset the latter, inasmuch as they concern the Russian empire, are comprehended in the Mongolian history, by which method the succeeding account of the Tartarian nations is rendered more easy and familiar.

are, generally speaking, the same people with the Tunguses, and the Mandchu the present sovereigns of China. These three nations, who, gathering by degrees, grew at length to be great ruling nations, were at that time weak and inconsiderable. In the tenth century the Kitanes first subdued the two other nations, and then the northern provinces of China. The Niudsches, however, soon rose in rebellion against them, were called in to their assistance by the Chinese, and now got the upper-hand of them as well as of the Kitanes. Upon this, a part of the latter retreated westwards, and took possession of the lesser Bukharia, where they have since bore the name of Karakitans or Karaktayans. In the mean time the Niudsches ruled over the north of China and the Mongoley as far as the Eastern-ocean. The Mongoles were divided into several hordes, who, notwithstanding the supremacy of the Niudsches, had their own khans. It was one of these petty princes, Temudschin, who, under the name of Tschinghis-khan, became the founder of a new monarchy, and one of the most memorable ravagers of the world.

Temudschin was thirteen years old when, on the death of his father in 1176, he became sovereign of 40,000 families: but, amidst the fan-

guinary quarrels that broke out among the khans of the different hordes, he soon found means by his bravery and fortitude to render himself the most powerful prince of the whole Mongoley. In order completely to become the general khan, and to enable himself to put in execution the great plans of conquest that were hatching in his restless mind, he had recourse to the patronage of superstition, as the most effectual means to despotism. At a grand council, which, in 1206, was held at the sources of the Onon, a khodsha or sage, who passed among the people for a prophet and favourite of the deity, publicly entered, announced to him the dominion of the world, and required him, on the part of God, to assume henceforward the appellation of Tschinghis-khan.

Thus it was that Tschinghis began his formidable course, which lasted twenty years; during which time he desolated countries and subjugated the people from Mongolia and from China to the farther Asia, and in Europe quite up to the shores of the Dniepr. If, however, we stop a moment to examine the condition of the european and the asiatic states at that period, we shall no longer be astonished at the progress made by the arms of Tschinghis, but shall rather see cause for surprise that they penetrated

no farther. We shall not here detain the reader with the detail of his victories and conquests, but shall only observe in general the rapid aggrandizement of the mongolian monarchy, and particularly as it stood in relation to the russian state.

In the first three years of his warfare Tschinghis subdued the Naimanes, Kirghises, and the other tartarian hordes. He received the voluntary submission of the Igures, a polished nation who communicated the art of writing to the Mongoles, from whom afterwards the Mandschu received it. About the same time Tschinghis pressed forward into the north-western parts of China, and made the king of Tangut his vassal. Soon after this he turned his arms against the Niudsches, proceeding in his conquests, murders, and plunderings, as far as the capital of Irnking, forced it to surrender, and found in it the wise Ilidschutzay *, a truly great and noble-minded man, whom he made his first officer of state; and who, not only rescued several millions of persons from their impending fate, who would otherwise have fallen victims to the

* This man, however harsh his name may sound, highly merits to live in the hearts of all the friends of mankind; he was a descendant of the dethroned imperial house of the Kitanes.

savage Mongoles, but who also may justly be said to have created the mongolian state, by polishing the manners of that people, and, as far as he was able, disseminating the arts and the sciences among them.

While the mongolian army was fighting against the Niudsches, in 1217, the flames of war broke out with increasing fury on the western side of the mongolian empire, which in the sequel communicated to all the countries round, and the Mongoles advanced to nether Asia, and thence again to Europe. — Keschluk, king of the Naimanes, who had conquered Karakitai, roused the Kanglians *, the Kaptschaks, the Kitanes, and several adjacent nations, to take up arms against the conqueror. Tschinghis, upon this, committed the prosecution of the other wars to his son Tufchi and other commanders, while himself marched against Keschluk, whom he defeated, and the country submitted after a short resistance. He now hastened to meet the sultan of Khovaresm †, who had caused his ambassador to be slain. This prince was undoubtedly his

* These are the Petschenegrans, as they are called by the russian and polish chronologists. They denominate themselves Kangar or Kangli.

† Khovaresm was a state torn off from the great empire of Seldschuk, which had been founded by turkish nations.

mightiest

mightiest and most dangerous adversary ; but he was likewise obliged to submit to the mongolian conqueror. In the year 1220 the capital Khovaresm was captured, on which occasion the number of the killed amounted to upwards of 100,000 persons, and every mongolian warrior received four-and-twenty slaves to his share.

About the same time all the countries and nations quite as far as the Oxus submitted to his arms. Tschinghis now dispatched an army across that river, who took Khorosan, and drove the new khovaresmian sultan to India. A second was still continually fighting in China against the Niudsches ; a third was making conquests in Kaptschak, on the north side of the Caspian, and even a fourth, which had already reduced the countries on the south side of that sea, was now advancing against the Kaptschaks. This is the army which proceeded quite up to the Dniepr. The Alanes, or Daghestanians, were already conquered, and the Mongoles were still pressing hard on those Kaptschaks, which in the russian year-books are called Polovtzes, on their retreat to the russian borders with the grand-duke of Kiev, and now with united forces fell upon the common foe. Unhappily here also the fortune of war decided in favour of the mongolian ravagers. In 1223 the Polovtzes

and Russians lost the great battle on the Kalka*, and were pursued as far as the Dniepr by the Mongoles, who, however, this time did not penetrate into Russia; but, laden with immense booty, returned by Kaptschak to Bukharia, to the great Tschinghis.

In this very year from which we date the commencement of the most unfortunate period for Russia, Tschinghis convoked a general diet, in which the form of government to be adopted for the conquered countries was settled†. This insatiable conqueror, like Alexander, had formed the plan of penetrating into India; but here also the same thing happened to him as to his grecian predecessor: the army refused to proceed farther. — After an absence of seven years, Tschinghis, in 1225, returned to his Mongoley; but presently after, that is, in the following year, he found himself obliged to undertake a campaign against the rebellious Tangut. The Mongoles penetrated across the great sandy desert into that country, and were victo-

* This battle cost six russian princes their lives, and scarcely the tenth part of the army returned.

† What sort of a spirit presided in this assembly may be judged of by a single circumstance. Some of the grantees advised Tschinghis to exterminate all the inhabitants of the conquered countries in China; and it was with difficulty that Ilidschutzay put aside the proposal.

rious every where; the royal race was exterminated, and the inhabitants were slaughtered in such shocking multitudes, that scarcely one in fifty was spared. After this conquest, Tschinghis had just conceived the idea of putting an end to the empire of the Niudsches in China, when death, in 1227, surprised this destroyer in the midst of his dreadful projects.

Tschinghis had bequeathed to his son Oktay the sovereignty of his dominions; but this prince, as well as his three successors, were properly no more than the grand khans of the prodigious mongolian empire, with whom their brothers and relations at the same time reigned in large tracts of country as princes, though dependent on the grand-khanate*.

Oktay first put an end to the empire of the Niudsches in China, and reduced the whole northern China to his authority. Shortly after

* Tschinghis in his lifetime had made the following settlement among his four sons: 1. Oktay to be grand-khan, and to have the Mongoley, Tangut, and the countries already taken from the Niudsches. 2. Taulai obtained Khorasan, the rest of Persia, and the indian conquests. 3. Dschagatai had the greater and the less Bukharia, Turfan, the country of the Igures, and a part of the present Kal-muckey. 4. Baaty, a nephew of Tschinghis, whose father was already dead, received Kaptschak, or the countries on the north side of the Caspian, with all the conquests thenceforth to be made on the european side.

this

this he made war upon the kings of Korea *, who had risen up against his supremacy, and now took the resolution, with an army of more than a million and a half of men, to overrun the world from one end of our hemisphere to the other. Putting himself at the head of 600,000 of his troops, he marched against the dynasty of Song in southern China; while, at the same time, the main body of his army, under the command of his son Kayuk and his nephews Baaty and Manku, proceeded to the west. On their progress they subdued the Tscherkassies and Avkahases, penetrated the Baschkirey, into Kazan and Bulgaria, and finally came to Mosco. Fourteen russian towns were burnt in one month (February 1238): Baaty pushed on towards Novgorod, and ordered all the inhabitants on his passage to be massacred. However, while yet a hundred versts from Novgorod he suddenly turned about, and hastened back to the regions of the Polovtzes and Bulgarians on the Volga. After several repeated attacks from the Mongoles, each of which exceeded the former in cruelty, most of the russian princes ran off to Poland and

* This title need be surprising to none. It was a part of the policy of the Mongoles to leave an apparent dignity to the princes in the conquered countries, as they also did in Russia.

Hungary, and left the dispirited people to the fury of these military barbarians. At length, after a desperate resistance of ten weeks, Kief surrendered (1240), and received a mongolian viceroy. The grand-duke of Vladimir did homage to the khan of Kaptschak, who confirmed him in his government and in the paramount lordship over the other princes. However, they made a voluntary submission of themselves to the mongolian supremacy, that they might not be the vassals of their brethren. All Russia, except Novgorod, was now tributary to the Mongoles, who appointed viceroys every where, though without expelling the russian princes. Baaty khan, by two great armies, ravaged Poland, Silesia, and Moravia; marched himself with a third to Hungary, pillaged and murdered all around, both here and in Slavonia, Bosnia, Servia, and Bulgaria; and then, by a three years absence, gave some respite to the plundered and desolated provinces of Russia.

At the same time, while the Mongoles were committing such horrors in Europe, and were prosecuting the war against the Koreans and the southern Chinese, they overran likewise the hither Asia with their numberless hosts. Oktay had summoned in vain the seldschukian sultan of Iconium to do him homage; he now sent a stronger force through Tscherkassia, to make an incur-

incurſion upon Armenia. The Mongoles penetrated into the regions of Arbela, marched through Niniveh, approached Bagdat, conquered Erzerum, ravaged and ſubjugated ſeveral cities and diſtricts of the leſſer Aſia, and made (1242) the ſultan of Iconium their vaſſal. In the following year they carried their inroads into Syria, and came to Aleppo. However, in this year Oktay died, of the conſequences of a propenſity, worthy of this univerſal deſpot*, and his death ſaved Aſia for a time, and Europe for ever.

To the reign of this odious tyrant an interregnum ſucceeded of four years, during which the wife Ilidſchutzay died of grief at the increaſing deſolation of the country which was now become his ſecond home†. The ſucceeding grand-khan

* He died by the effects of a fit of drunkenneſs, in his reſidence Karakorum.

† The widow of Oktay, by whoſe intrigues that prince was thwarted in all his ordinances, now ſet herſelf up as regent of the empire, in which office ſhe was continually making innovations that tended to general miſchief. Theſe, againſt which Ilidſchutzay was ever exerting his utmoſt efforts to no purpoſe, were the chief cauſe of his vexation. On his death, inſtead of the vaſt treaſures that were expected, no property was found in his poſſeſſion, except ſeveral books compoſed by himſelf, on hiſtory, aſtronomy, and political oeconomy; collections of coins, maps, pictures, &c. Who does not feel ſatisfaction at finding one man, worthy of that name, among ſuch a horrid crew of blood-thirſty barbarians?

Kayuk

Kayuk was busily employed in making formidable preparations to carry the war over all Europe, when his sudden death defeated these projects. — His successor Manku abolished the kaliphate, and subjected the sultan of Iconium and all Asia minor, as far as the straits of Constantinople, to the mongolian authority, while his brother Koblay, as viceroy of China, prosecuted the war against the Song with vigour.

On Manku's death (1259) Koblay was elected grand-khan; this prince, however, remained in China, and in manners and knowledge was a perfect Chinese. The distance of the paramount sovereign from the other mongolian states, which extended from the eastern ocean as far as the Dniepr and the Mediterranean sea, accelerated by discord and ambition the dissolution, already prepared, of this enormous monarchy, which now separated into the following still very extensive states: 1. China. 2. Iran (Persia as far as the hither Asia). 3. Dschagatay (so called after its founder, as has been remarked above in speaking of the division under the successors of Tschinghis). 4. Kaptschak. 5. Turan.

Koblay renewed the war with the Song, which at length terminated in the downfall of that dynasty, and the entire conquest of the southern China. — This line of the Tschinghises formed
itself

itself completely on the pattern of the Chinese; with the ferocity of the Mongoles, they lost also their martial character, and were at last driven back into the Mongoley by the native dynasty of Ming, where their posterity, under the name of Kalkas-Mongoles, at present live in submission to the sceptre of the Chinese. — The circumstances attending the Tschinghises of Iran and Tschagatay are beside the limits of the plan we proposed to ourselves in this historical relation; but so much the nearer are we interested in the states of Kaptschak and Turan, as the revolutions effected in them are intimately implicated in the history and the present condition of the Russian empire.

We have already seen in what manner the state of Kaptschak was founded by Baaty, the kinsman of the great Tschinghis, and that from 1240, the greater part of Russia was subjected to these princes. Koblay, at the commencement of his reign, likewise made Kaptschak independent, in pursuance of the example set him by his predecessors in regard to the other states of the Mongolian empire, and from that time forth it was no longer the Mongolian grand-khan, but the khan of Kaptschak; under whose supremacy Russia subsisted for upwards of two hundred years. In order to rectify a slight mistake, we
will

will here endeavour to explain how it happened that this mongolian sovereignty is constantly termed the tartarian in the russian year-books. Mongoles and Tartars are, in their origin, manners, and language, two entirely distinct nations: but, on the subjugation of the generality of the tartar hordes by Tschinghis, the two nations were ever more and more assimilating with each other. The kaptschak empire, besides its own army of mongolian warriors destitute of women, had for its inhabitants only genuine Tartars, and by little and little the troops were even completed by Tartars. It was therefore in fact not only Tartars who maintained the mongolian sovereignty over Russia, but even the Mongolians became in Russia real Tartars, to which the introduction of the mohammedan religion into Kaptschak, under the successors of Baaty, contributed not a little.

From Baaty's time till the year 1441, Kaptschak formed a large and well-compacted state, governed in an uninterrupted line by the successors of that prince. During the former half of that period the russian princes made little or no attempts to rid themselves of this foreign sovereignty; but about the middle of the fourteenth century the germ of decay began to expand itself in the mongole-tartarian state. The throne
now,

now, on every vacancy, had several competitors, each endeavouring to enforce his pretensions by arms, and the approaching downfall of the empire was, amidst these disturbances, growing more apparent from day to day. The first proof of this was given by the russian grand-duke Dmitri Donskoy, who, in the year 1380, vanquished the khan Mamai in a signal and bloody battle on the Don. Yet; it was long before any consequences favourable to the Russians arose from this victory, and two years afterwards Mosco was again laid waste by the Tartars. In the mean time, however, the demolition of the kaptschak empire was hastily advancing, and in the year 1441 it crumbled into four smaller states, which in the space of a century afterwards lost themselves in the russian body politic, now liberated from its yoke and increasing in power. These states were: 1. The khanate of Kazan. Ivan I. had already freed himself from the shackles of dependency, which his predecessors had riveted on this empire, and reduced the khan Ahmed, from a paramount lord, to be a tributary vassal; but Ivan's successor saw his country yet several times ravaged by the Tartars of Kazan, and himself under the necessity once more to take the oath of fealty. The complete annihilation of this tartarian state was the work of
Ivan II.

Ivan II. who in 1552 united the empire of Kazan to Russia for ever. — 2. The khanate of Astrakhan fell two years later (1554) into the hands of the same victorious chieftain; who, amidst these conquests, gained also the greater part of, 3. The khanate of Kaptfchak. That part of this state, which upon the separation of the other three khanates still remained, lost, in the year 1506, its last khan, and the remainder of Kaptfchak was partitioned among the khans of the Krimea, of Kazan, and of Astrakhan. 4. The khanate of the Krimea was in the year 1783, without the help of the sword, incorporated by Catharine II. with the Russian empire; and thus the last branch of the Tschinghises of Kaptfchak was brought under the sovereignty of their former vassals.

A similar fate attended the state of Turan, which, as we have already remarked, arose from the ruins of the huge Mongolian empire, during the grand-khanate of the Koblay. The founder of this state was a brother of Baaty on the Aral-chain of mountains and about the Yaik, in countries which had been ceded to him by the latter, and which he himself afterwards increased by conquests in Siberia. The series of the khans of Turan closed with Kutschum, who, being first defeated by Yermak, the famous Kozak of the

Don, with his small band of adventurers, afterwards resigned both his empire and his liberty to the Russians. By them, in 1598, he was brought as a prisoner to Mosco, and the entire conquest of his territories was completed by the subsequent reduction of Siberia.

Ere we conclude this general view of the transactions of the Mongoles, we must take notice of a conqueror from the body of this people, who formed the resolution of restoring the fallen monarchy, and was so fortunate as to execute it in a manner worthy of his predecessors. This new destroyer was called Timur or Tamerlan, and was prince of Kesch near Samarkand, about the time when the Mongoles were every where disheartened, and were entirely expelled from China. His dominion took its rise in the great Bukharia, a part of the antient Dschagatay. After various turns of fortune*, he succeeded in the reduction of that empire; in the year 1369, he received the homage of the grandees and the title of the Sovereign of the World. From this time forth Timur became as great and general a

* On a flight which had once well-nigh defeated all his prospects and hopes, he was so poor that he had nothing in the world but a sorry horse and an old camel; he, who twenty years afterwards threw the three quarters of the old world into terror, and visited them with desolation.

plague as Tschinghis. In 1371 he invaded Khovaresm, conquered Kaschgar, hurled the khan of Kaptschak from the throne, and set up another in his place; took the city Khovaresm, and made himself master of all Khorasan and Sedschestan, while his generals subdued the Avchanians, and captured Kandahar. At the close of the year 1384, he put himself in possession of most of the countries from Persia to the borders of Armenia; shortly after which he laid waste all the tract from Ili as far as the Irtysh, routed the khan of Kaptschak, marched onward to the Volga, and then returned to Samarkand. On opening the campaign of 1393, he made conquests in southern Persia, took Bagdat and various other cities of Mesopotamia and Georgia, forced his way through Derbent into Kaptschak, ravaged Mosco, and conquered Azof; then prosecuted the subjugation of Persia, and again returned to Samarkand. In the year 1398 he set out upon an expedition to India, and crossed the Ganges. At the commencement of the succeeding century, he made an incursion into mammeluk Syria, conquered Aleppo, Damascus, and once more Bagdat: this done, he proceeded again to Georgia, forced Natolia to surrender, defeated Bajazet, made him his prisoner, and laid the emperor of Constantinople, the sultan of the Ottomans,

and the Mammeluks under heavy contributions. After this he made another expedition to Georgia; and, in 1404, repaired again to Samarkand. At this place he was attacked by a severe and tedious illness which terminated in his death, just as he was forming the project of marching to China, there to restore the dominion of the Mongoles. — As suddenly as this common disturber had completed his amazing conquests, so rapidly did they fall away under his successors; who lost one after another all the countries which Tamerlan had left them to the Bukharèy and Khorazan; and even these the last khan, Babur, in 1498, was obliged to abandon, who, however, from an outcast and a fugitive, became the founder of the state of Grand-Mongolia in Hindostan.

Such were the remarkable catastrophes of a nation, which now, degraded from its former grandeur, has scarcely any longer a memorial of it; and at present can only recollect as in the obscure and faint representations of a dream, that it once was a nation which domineered over the world*. With the fall of the great mon-

* The chief source of mongolian history is in the chinese records. The Burats have only imperfect traditions; but among the Kalmuks and Mongoles are genealogical registers of their princely races, which likewise contain other historical accounts.

golian empire of the Tschinghis, began also the epocha of their decline; the dissolution into smaller states, which parted again into smaller still, and were then reduced to subjection, at length brought about a division into stems and hordes, and consequently a complete retrogradation from the state of civilization to the condition of raw uncultivated man. — We will for the present pass over the period in which this singular decline took place, in order the sooner to acquaint ourselves with the state of the mongolian nations at this day; and afterwards endeavour to trace out the particulars most worthy of notice in the history of the several races, since the destruction of the mongolian dominions.

It appears that many centuries ago the Mongols were divided into two leading nations, whose partition might probably be owing either to national circumstances, or to a natural separation by mountains, and afterwards kept up by the separate interests of their princes, or from a national enmity arising from perpetual dissensions. These two nations were brought to a union into one common state by the great Tschinghis; but, on the destruction of the monarchy erected by him, they were separated again by the antient feuds, and have ever since, to their mutual ruin, been engaged in almost perpetual hostilities.

The Mongoles, properly so called, compose the one, and the Dœrbœen-Oiræt the other of these nations:

Dœrbœen-Oiræt means the Quadruple-alliance, and is the common appellative of four principal races, namely, the Œlœt, Kho-it, Tummut, and Barga-Burat. The Œlœt are properly that branch, which in western Asia and in Europe are known under the name of Kalmuks: the second shoot, Kho-it, is, by wars and migrations, so effaced and dispersed, as at present, besides some remains among the Soongares and Mongoles, to be totally vanished: of the Tummut, even the place of their present abode is not certainly known*: and the fourth and last stem, Barga-Burat, which probably at the time of the troubles excited by Tschinghis took up its residence in the mountains about the Baikal, has, with all its branches, ever since the conquest of Siberia, been under the Russian sovereignty. — Of these four stems, therefore, only the first and

*. The Kalmuks themselves have no knowledge whither this stem retreated; they only believe that they must still be subsisting somewhere in the interior or eastern parts of Asia. As, according to authentic accounts, a populous Mongolian race called Tummut, now inhabits the region between the river Naun and the Chinese wall, we may, with great appearance of probability, suppose it to be the lost race of Oiræt.

the last are a subject for history; as they, with the Mongoles, are the only mongolian tribes, with which, either here or in the sequel, we have any thing to do.

I. The MONGOLES comprehend the remainder of that people, who, as we have seen above, were driven out of China in the fourteenth century by the dynasty of Ming, and are at present for the most part under the Mandshur sovereigns of that empire; though a small portion of them own the russian sceptre. Since the demolition of the soongarian authority, and the restoration of peace in the Mongolèy, they have dwelt in the spacious region between Siberia and proper China, from the Eastern-ocean to the Soongarèy, and at present there is scarcely any discernible difference between the yellow Mongoles*, living from remote ages under the chinese protection; and the former Tschinghises or Kalkas-Mongoles.

When Siberia was conquered by the Russians at the beginning of the seventeenth century, the Mongoles were still a free and numerous people, governed by its own khans; under whose sovereignty also were several siberian nations. They at first submitted to the russian arms; soon afterwards however they regained their liberty, and even granted support to several of the nations of

* Scharra-Monggol.

Siberia in their resistance to that power. In their intestine wars with the Kalmuks they generally came off conquerors, with the loss however of one race after the other. Their frequent and bloody wars with China turned out still more unfortunately for them, as their perpetual feuds finally terminated in a complete subjugation. Continually harassed by the chinese government, they are at present almost totally out of condition to risk any attempts at liberating themselves from the yoke; though they have preserved their paternal seat, and ostensibly live under the government of their own hereditary princes*.

The Mongoles, at present among the inhabitants of the russian empire, in the last century withdrew themselves from the chinese dominion, and voluntarily put themselves under the russian supremacy. This example, in all likelihood would have been followed by several other races,

* China kept in the Mongolèy a considerable number of forts, at which the chieftains of the Mongoles were obliged to stop. These formerly obtained from the Dalai-lama the title of khan or Khuntaidschi; at present they are forced to submit to have their officers appointed by the Chinese. The nation itself is put under a military form of government, in lieu of the tribute, not unlike to that of the Kozaks; and through the continual and heavy service, not only very burdensome, but renders them contemptible in the eyes of the Chinese, who hold the state of a foldier to be almost infamous.

if Russia had not bound herself in a border-treaty with China at the beginning of this century, not to give admittance any more to mongolian run-aways. The russian Mongoles inhabit the regions about the Selenga in the irkutskoi district of the government of Irkutsk, their dwelling-place extending from the 122d to the 125th deg. of long. and between the 50th and 53d deg. of north lat. They consist of seven stems, and these of twenty families or aimaks, which, by the enumeration of the year 1766, besides 219 baptised, comprised 6918 males.

2. The *CELÆTS* or *KALMUKS* are at present the most remarkable branch of the *Dœrbœn-Oiræt*, as in general of the mongole nations. They themselves affirm their home to have been between the *Koko-noor* * and Thibet. Long before *Tschinghis-khan*, according to the old reports of this people, the greatest and mightiest part of the *Ælœt* made a military expedition westward as far as the lesser Asia, and there lost themselves among the mountains of Caucasus; but the rest, who had staid behind in great Tartary, received from their tartarian neighbours, the name *Khalimak* (the separated). In fact, they call themselves also *Khalmik*, though *Ælœt* is always their peculiar denomination, which

* Blue lake.

word likewise denotes a separated, disjoined, or distinct nation. — The *Ælœts* divide themselves, at least since the destruction of the mongolian monarchy, in four main shoots, who denominate themselves *Khofchot*, *Derbet*, *Soongarr*, and *Torgot*; and, from the time of their separation from the *Mongoles*, have all along been subjected to various princely families.

The major part of the *KHOSCHOTAN Kalmuks* are said to have kept in and about *Thibet* and on the *Koko-noor*, and after the downfall of the *soongarian* power to have remained under the protection of the *Chinese*. The smaller part of this stock had long before withdrawn to the banks of the *Irtysh*, and fell at length under the dominion of the *soongarian* horde with which it made common cause in the wars against *China*, and was also dispersed at the same time with the *Soongarians*. Those under the chinese sovereignty, the still united horde of the *Khofchotes*, are estimated at 50,000 heads. They are reputed to have had their name, which implies warrior or hero, from the courage they displayed under the command of *Tfchinghis*; and, as well on account of this circumstance, as because they derive their princely race in uninterrupted succession from the brother of the great *Tfchinghis*, they preserve a superiority of rank

rank before the other kalmuk hordes. — The number of the Khoschotes subject to Russia is but small. In the year 1675 there came 1500, and in 1759 an additional 300 families to the shores of the Volga, where they settled and voluntarily submitted to the russian sovereignty.

The SOONGARES, at the separation of the mongolian monarchy, formed but one stock with the Derbetans, who afterwards parted, under two discordant brothers of their princely family. It was this horde, which in the last and at the beginning of the present century, reduced to their subjection a great part of the other kalmuk races, particularly the Khoscot, Derbet, and Kho-it, and waged bloody wars with the Mongoles as well as with the chinese empire itself, but which ended in their total subjugation and dispersion. Previous to this unhappy period, they, together with the Derbets, numbered upwards of 50,000 bows, or fighting men, and passed in modern times for the bravest, richest, and most powerful horde. Their seat was formerly about the Balkhash-lake and its rivers Tschuy and Ily, and their most flourishing period was between the years 1696 and 1746. The towns of the eastern Bukharia and the great kirghise horde were about this time tributary to them. They conquered Budala, the capital

capital of the Dalai-lama, and raised contests in Siberia, where they made tributary some nations belonging to Russia. On the death of their khan Galdan Zeren, a dissolution of the horde ensued, occasioned by disputes concerning the succession, when the Torgots, the Khoschotes, and Derbets separated from it. A great part of the Soongarians dispersed themselves in the interior parts of Asia, and quite into the usbek towns; some thousands of them fled into Siberia; and the generality accommodated themselves to the chinese sovereignty; and, from their own statements, it appears, that scarcely 20,000 families of them and the derbetan nation are now remaining. — The number of the Soongares, who at that time (1758) took refuge in Russia amounted to about 20,000 heads; they were united with the volgaic Kalmuks, but for the most part returned with them in the year 1770 again into the Soongarèy.

The DERBETANS, who in the beginning had their pasturages in the region of the Koko-noor, removed thence, on account of the mongolian disturbances, towards the Irtysh, and, on that occasion, split into two parties. One of them united, as we have before observed, with the Soongares, in whose fortunes and final dissolution it was at once involved; the other proceeded

ceeded westward with the Torgots, towards the Yaik, (now Ural), as far as the Volga and the Don, where it completely settled. So long ago as the year 1673 they put themselves, 5000 kibitkies (tents or families) in number, under the khan of the Torgots, who were then on the river Ural, and did homage to the russian empire. In the sequel the derbetan princes, unwilling to remain any longer in subjection to the Torgots, went, on the death of khan Ayuka in 1723, with their people to the parts beyond the Don; at that time they were estimated at 14,000 kibitkies. Since that time the russian government had reason to oblige the khan Lava Donduk to put himself under the protection of the khans of the Krimea; and this occasioned the horde to remove once more to join the Torgots on the Volga. In the famous flight of the year 1770 they took no part, as they dreaded the being subjugated by the Torgots, but remained quiet under the prince Zenden, on the shores of the Volga.

The TORGOTS seem to have formed themselves into a particular horde much later than the other kalmuk branches. At first they removed from the restless Soongares, marching constantly westward till they came to the steppes on the Volga, where they finally settled, and received

ceived from the Russians the appellation of the volgaic Kalmuks. In the year 1616 this horde is said to have submitted to the russian empire; at their crossing the Ural in 1662, they numbered themselves, and found the amount to be 50,000 kibitkies. Their forenamed khan Ayuka brought a great part of the nogayan Tartars in subjection to them, when the latter were intending to spread themselves beyond the river Ural; one of the sons of this prince took his flight with 15,000 kibitkies into the Soongarèy. Khan Donduk Ombo, the successor of Ayuka, reduced 6000 tents of Truchmenians and 8000 tents of khundurovian Tartars under the command of his horde, from which, however, the major part of the latter fled back. In the year 1761 the russian government came to an agreement with this opulent and powerful horde which restricted the authority of the khans to narrower bounds, and excited such discontents, that they returned in the winter of 1770 and 1771 to the amount of between 55 and 60,000 kibitkies, over the ice of the river Ural, across the kirghisian steppe, into the Soongarèy. This memorable transaction, which in the eighteenth century, and within the borders of a polished state, presents a lively image of the antient migrations of swarms of people, principally

principally took its rise from the irritation of the khan, on his being associated with deputies of the princes of the horde, whom he could not depose at will, and who received an assessor from the chancery of the government of Astrakhan; seconded by the complaints of the people of the want of pasture for their numerous droves, and the prophecies of the clergy that the horde would soon be compelled to adopt the christian faith, to follow agriculture, and to deliver recruits. — It has already been observed, that even the greater part of the Soongares took part in this migration; only some few aimaks of the Torgots remained behind; but the Tartars in subjection to the horde refused to follow them. The russian government, indeed, caused the fugitives to be pursued, but they fled with such velocity, that only a few of them were overtaken and brought back. Numbers of them perished on this painful journey; a great part were taken prisoners by the Kirghises; those who reached the place of their destination put themselves under the protection of the chinese government, who immediately gave them a kind reception, but, for political reasons, afterwards treated them with extreme severity*.

The whole amount of the Kalmuks that remained in Russia, were estimated a few years

* See the Life of Catharine II. 3d edit. vol. ii. p. 175, & seq.

ago at somewhat more than 20,000 tents. These are the remains of all the four stems; but the Khoschotes, the Soongares, and Torgots, who either staid or were caught on their flight and brought back, and are distributed among the Derbets, who, besides several petty princes, have a taipcha or khan presiding over them. They wander, with their flocks and herds, in the steppes between the Don and the Volga, from the line of Tzaritzin as far as Caucasus; and between the Volga and the river Ural, from the Irghis quite to the Caspian; therefore in the governments of Saratof and Astrakhan, and in the seats of the Kozaks of the Don.

In addition to these there is still a particular and numerous colony of BAPTIZED KALMUKS. Towards the close of the last century many, even distinguished and noble, members of this nation began to profess themselves of the christian faith. As the neighbourhood with their unbaptized fellow-races gave occasion to disagreements and controversies, the government, in the year 1737, established the former in a fruitful region about the rivers Samara, Sok, and Tok, (in the present government of Simbirsk, and in the orenburg district of the government of Ufa), and granted them also the city of Stavropol, which is now a chief town of the government of Simbirsk. The increase of this colony

colony was so considerable, that in the year 1771 they could reckon nearly 14,000 heads, whereas in 1754 they were only 8695. — There is yet subsisting in the government of Ufa a small colony of MOHAMMEDAN KALMUKS, which sprung up from individual profelytes made by the Kirghises and adopted by that body.

3. The third and last mongolian nation, which still merits the name of a distinct people, are the BARGA-BURAT, called by the Russians Buræti or Bratkiye. That this nation composed one of the four stems of the Dœrbeen-Oiræts has been already mentioned. The Burats seem, about the time of the mongolian monarchy, or still earlier, to have taken refuge in the wild mountainous region on the north side of the Baikal, which they still inhabit. Should they even not have avoided the conquering arms of Tschinghis, yet they appear shortly afterwards to have recovered their liberty, when the mongolian monarchy made China its seat of empire, and the stems that wandered about the remoter regions began to disperse. The Russians found this nation in Siberia at their conquest of that country; and from the year 1644 they have peaceably accommodated themselves to the russian supremacy. The whole buræt nation is

at present, in consequence of the border-treaty, under the dominion of Russia, and forms the numerous heathenish people in the government of Irkutsk, where it inhabits the region from the Yenissey, along the mongole-chinese borders, on the Angara, Tunguska, and the upper Lena, about the southern Baikal, on the Selenga, the Argoon, and its rivers. Several years ago this government was computed to contain 32,000 tributary Buræts; and, besides these, there were a few stems and races in the krasnoyarskoi circle of the government of Kolhyvan on the right bank of the Yenissey. If we take into the account the defects of an enumeration attended with so many difficulties, the female sex, and the natural increase of the people in such a succession of years, we may admit their number to be four times as large without trespassing too much upon probability.

SECTION IV.

Tartars.

A FOURTH primitive stock of the nations dwelling in Russia are the TARTARS. This national appellation is so much misapplied, that with some inquirers into history a doubt has even arisen, whether there ever was a peculiar people
of

of that name. Under this denomination have been implied all tribes beyond Persia and India as far as the Eastern ocean, however differing from each other in regard to their origin, language, manners, religion, and customs. Now, that we are better acquainted with these nations, we know that the Tartars in reality compose a distinct nation which originally belonged to the great turkish stock *.

The first known mother-country of the Turks or Tartars lies somewhere in the countries on

* The name TARTAR may either, 1. really originate from a turkish horde, which bore this domination, as Abulgasi, the historian of his own nation, affirms, and as from circumstances is very likely, that the Yakutes, among their deities, have a Tatar, who probably enjoys that honour as the patriarch of the nation; or it may also 2. be derived from the Chinese, who call all their neighbours, without distinction, Tata or Ta-dse; which latter hypothesis acquires some weight from this circumstance, that the Persians and Arabians know nothing of the Tartars under that appellation. It was first brought into general use in Europe after Baaty's incursion into Hungary under king Frederick II. Uncertain, however, as this denomination is, it nevertheless seems clear, that the Tartars are of turkish origin, and that their proper name was Turk or Turkoman, and not Tatar. Not only the learned of their own nation affirm this to be the case, but the tartarian language is still really nothing but the old-turkish. The modern ottoman Turks speak even the tartarian tongue, only in another dialect.

the eastern and northern sides of the Caspian, where their descendants have still their seats. In antient times they were spread from the Axus or Gihon into the Mongoley and the Orenburg territory; that is, in regions where they had constantly ambitious and domineering nations for their neighbours and enemies: on the east side the Chinese; south-westwards the Persians, Macedonians, Romans, Partho-persians, and Arabians; and lastly the Mongoles in the north-east. Here they served from time immemorial as a mound against the incursions of the nations who would penetrate from the east to the west or contrariwise, till at length the Mongoles, like a rushing stream that has burst its banks, swept away all opposition. Like all other nations, at their origin, the Turks at first divided only into stems and hordes, the names whereof have been preserved to us by the tartar, persian, and chinese historians. A main stock already appears in Herodotus under the name of the Massagetes, whom Strabo acknowledges for brethren of the Khorasmiens, and who by a constant repetition of great actions, and by the commerce of the hither-Asiatic and eastern-European nations with Serika, are preserved in remembrance by historians and geographers, though their history is neither connected nor complete. The appella-
tive

tive Turks was borne about the year 545—how much earlier is not known—only by that part of the nation which had long had its habitations in the Altay-mountains along the Irtysh, where that people in the middle of the sixth century founded a state, which soon became so powerful as to give disturbance to China and Persia, and to have an interchange of ambassadors with the east Romans. In the same century, however, this state split into two great parts which afterwards separated into several petty khanates, and at length chiefly became a prey to the victorious Arabs, till the primitive Turks succeeded once more in founding considerable states in the khaliphate itself.

Eight turkish tribes by degrees now make their entrance on the stage of history, causing great revolutions both in Europe and in Asia, founding empires, and performing the part of nations aiming at universal dominion. Three of them, who had penetrated early into Europe, attract our attention principally on account of their relations with the russian empire: the Khazares, the Petschenegrans, and the Uzes.

The KHAZARES, a bold and powerful nation, had their original home on the isthmus of Caucasus between the Caspian and the sea of Azof. In the seventh century they began to be fa-

mous, and till towards the middle of the ninth century their state was in an increasing and flourishing condition. About that time the empire of the Khazares extended from the Volga and the Caspian, across the caucasian isthmus, the peninsula of the Crimea, and what is now the south of Russia, as far as to Moldavia and Valakhia; and several flavonian tribes, particularly the Polianes about Kief and on the Dniepr, the Severans on the rivers Desna, Sem, and Sula, the Viatitsches on the Oka, and the Radimitsches on the Sosha, were tributary to them. But after the year 862 three nations wrought their downfall: the Russians, the Petschene-grans, and the Uzes. The varagian or russian leaders, Oskold and Dir, ravished from them the dominion over the Polianes; Oleg, in 884, reduced the Severans and the Radimitsches to his authority. His successor, in 964, conquered the territory of the Viatitsches and the nine khazarian countries on the isthmus of Caucasus. The Khazares lost the remainder of their dominion about 1016 to the combined forces of the Russians and east Romans. The nation, indeed, continued for some time longer, but they were submissive and tributary to the Russians.

The PETSCHENEGRANS, as they are called in the russian and polish year-books, name themselves

selves Kangar or Kangli, and were a powerful nomadic nation, which we can trace back to a homestead on the rivers Volga and Ural. They became first known in Europe by their incursion into the Khazarian empire in 839, and by their wars in 867 with the Slavonians, but shortly before made tributary to the Khazares. Driven from their seats by the Uzes and Khazares, they made themselves masters of the country between the Don and the Dniestr, and thence expelled the Hungarians subject to the Khazares. In the eleventh century they broke up and migrated towards Moravia, Bulgaria, and Thrace, and established themselves, after committing frequent ravages in the countries of the east, Romans, in Dardania and the lesser Scythia. At the close of the twelfth century they possessed a part of Transylvania; but about that time they gradually vanish out of history.

The Uzes, called also Kumanians or Polovtzes, appear already in Herodotus and Strabo. About the time when they first make their entrance in history as an active nation (883), that is, when, in conjunction with the Khazares, they drove the Petschenegrans from their homesteads, they had already extended themselves from Kharezm and the mountains of Kitzig-Tag, as far as the nether Volga. They now

took the countries of the expelled Petfchene-grans into possession, and one of their stems made themselves masters of the original abodes of the Khazares, on the western side of the Volga and the Caspian as far as Derbent. In the eleventh century they even spread into the eastern parts of Europe. They ravished from the Petfchenegrans almost all that they had hitherto possessed in that quarter of the globe, particularly the Krim, the countries between the Don and the Dniepr, with Moldavia and Valakhia. After they had continued their ravages for a long time in Bulgaria, Thrace, Transylvania, and Hungary, and were in a great measure brought to ruin, they at last settled in Hungary. Towards the end of the eleventh century, they captured the north-eastern part of the Kuban from the Russians, who were at that time torn to pieces by intestine dissensions. In the former half of the thirteenth century they lost by the Tschinghises, Moldavia, Valakhia, and the Krim. In the year 1330 the Kumani-ans were numbered among the nations tributary to the state of Hungary; but from that time they cease to be an historical nation.

Beside the foregoing and several other turkish tribes that raised themselves to be independent or dominant nations, there were many separate branches

branches of the same stem, the transactions and circumstances whereof, though not unknown, are not subjects for universal history, and of whom, therefore, little more is stated than the bare names. To this remark the Tartars are an exception, who indeed did not attain to any historical memorial till their subjugation by the Mongoles; yet whose earlier destinies, on account of the importance and extensiveness of that nation, excited some interest in the succeeding times.

Abu'l Gafi Bahatur khan*, who has given a copious though not a complete list of the turkish stems, mentions among them the tartarian as one of the most antient and famous, and derives its origin from a khan of the name Tatar. This stem, which in process of time increased to

* This historian was prince of Kharefm, and died in the year 1663. His son and successor Anushta Mahmed khan completed the work of Abulgafi, which bears the title of "A genealogical history of the Turks," and has been translated into russ, german, french, and english. The imperial academy of sciences at St. Petersburg is in possession of two good manuscripts of the tartarian original, and a written translation in german consisting of two folio volumes made more than forty years ago by professor Kehr immediately from the tartarian. He entitles this work: "A faithful translation from the tartarian original text of the Ghivischian ruler Abu'l Gafi Bahatur khan's Mongole-tartarian-turkish family-register and chronicle."

70,000 families, was at first governed by its own commander, and afterwards divided into various branches, and spread into several and very distant regions, whereby their power was in some degree weakened. The most considerable branch settled on the borders of Kitay (China), and fell under the sovereignty of that empire, against which it frequently rebelled, and thereby gave occasion to ruinous wars. At the time of Tschinghis some Tartars dwelt on the Onon or Amoor, who were tributary to the emperor of Kin, reigning in Kitay. Even Yessukai, the father of Tschinghis, had waged bloody wars with one of the tartarian race.

The Tartars only began to acquire some consequence in history at the time of their subjugation by the Mongoles. The very first enterprise of the great Tschinghis was against this people; and it is certain that this conqueror, ere he ravaged China with his armies, had already reduced all the tartar hordes to his authority, and was in quiet possession of their dominion, so that on his expedition against the Niudsches he had no obstacle to fear on this side. But, from the moment that the history of the Tartars excites attention, it ceases to be the history of a peculiar nation. Distributed under the banners and commanders of the Mongoles, these enjoy with posterity

terity the glory of their victories and conquests, while, by a surprising caprice of fortune, the Tartars are obliged to lend their name to the devastations with which both nations every where marked the bloody progress of their armies. The subsequent events of this people have in part been already noticed under the last head of the historical sketch of the Mongoles, and the rest will be mentioned when we come to the account of the particular tartarian nations.

One consequence of the tartarian subjugation was, that the name of this nation which hitherto, out of China and the Mongoleys, had been unknown to the rest of the world, began now to spread themselves in the western Asia and in Europe, and presently caused a complete interchange of victor and vanquished. In the later military expeditions of Tschinghis, the Tartars were by far the most numerous part of his army, as we are justified in concluding from the single circumstance, that in all the conquered countries which before had had their proper language, not the mongolian but the tartarian became the predominant tongue; as, in the lesser and the greater Bukharia, among the Bashkirs and Tschuvasches, in the Krim and in the Kuban, &c. — Nothing was therefore more natural, than that the incomparably greater number of the Tartars
expunged

expunged the mongolian names in all the western countries: besides, wars undertaken in conjunction, a community of habitation, and one common ruler, were favourable to the commixture of the two nations, the vestiges whereof, however, upon the demolition of the mongolian monarchy, are so much effaced, that at present, excepting in a distant similarity of speech *, the slightest relationship is no longer visible. Even the lineaments of the face, and in their political constitution, (that of the Tartars partaking more of the democratical, as that of the Mongoles does of the monarchical,) the two nations discover a difference extremely characteristic, which is only less striking in particular races; for instance, in the Kusnetski-tartars, the Yakutes, and some others.

On the death of Tschinghis-khan, to maintain and people the conquered countries numerous

* The tartarian language has mongolian words, which are not to be found in the turkish. The reason of this is probably because the soldiers of the mongolian army, being all unmarried, the race became extinct, and the offspring they had by the tartarian women in the conquered countries rather caught the language of their mothers than the more difficult dialect of their fathers, whence it happened, that in these countries, only a slight knowledge of the latter remained, which was afterwards ever more and more getting into disuse, till at last only a few words of the language of the original country were left remaining.

colonizings were necessary, by which an almost general transplantation and migration of mongole and tartar stems ensued. This was the common policy of the successors of Tschinghis, who withdrew with their hordes to the countries which had fallen to their share from the great mass of his conquests*. We are not therefore to be surprised at finding tartarian tribes and races beyond the boundaries of their country, and sometimes in very distant regions: the Naimans, for example, are entirely vanished, at least, excepting their name, from their original home; but they appear again in the west among the Uzbeks, and in the east about the river Sira, above the province Lea-tong. A similar fate has befallen the generality of the stems, as we shall see when we come to treat of the Siberian Tartars.

The final catastrophe of the great mongole-tartarian monarchy, and the subjugation of the several countries into which that monstrous state

* The Uzbeks, for example, or the Tartars, as they are called, in the great Bukharia and in Khorasm, consist, according to Abulgasi, of four main stocks, of which the Naimanes and Igures are known from the history of Tschinghis. But these two hordes formerly dwelt, the former on the western side of the native territories of Tschinghis, and the latter in Turfan.

divided,

divided, as to their most remarkable particulars, have been already noticed under the foregoing head. As we there gave some account of the present state of the mongole nation, we will here cast an eye upon the existing constitution of the Tartars in general, and then proceed to lay before the reader the state of the particular stems that now belong to the russian empire.

Not only subjugated in their conquered countries, but even forced from a great part of their old homestead, only some few of the hordes, in reference to the whole tartarian nation, have preserved their independence; those, namely, who inhabit the south-western part of the former great Tartary, towards the persian, indian, and soongarian borders. Here we find the great Kirghisian-horde, the Bukharians, the Khivans or Khivinses, the Karakalpaks, Truchmenes, Taschkentians, Turkoftans, Aralians, and some other races, which still form distinct states, and retain a sort of national liberty, but are all together so little formidable to their neighbours, that they seek protection wherever they are most likely to find it, according to their political situation, sometimes from one power, and sometimes from another. The whole remains of this nation,
once

once so great, now subsist under foreign sovereignty. Many hordes belong, either as subjects, or as dependent wards of the russian empire; others are in like manner appanages to the ottoman Turks, or subject to the great Mogul, to China, and to Persia.

The Tartars belonging to the russian empire inhabit the northern coasts of the Euxine and the Caspian, the north side of the caucasean mountains, the extensive steppes from the river Ural to the Soongarèy, the southern Ural, in Siberia the southern frontier mountains and steppes from the Tobol quite over the Yenissey, and the deserts in the middle region of the Lena; likewise not a few tartar colonies are dispersed among the russian habitations, particularly in the governments of Ufa, Kazan, and Tobolsk.

As these regions have for the most part, since the flourishing epocha of the mongole-tartarian monarchy, been inhabited by them, frequent memorials are found there of their antient grandeur, magnificence, and culture, of which some are of an antiquity demonstrably of above a thousand years. It is no rare thing to come suddenly upon the ruins of some town, which, in its crumbling remains, plainly evinces the progress which the arts had made among a people

whom we are wont to consider as barbarians *. Still more frequently are seen sepulchres, which, by their inscriptions throw light upon the history of this nation; and, in the vessels and implements preserved in them, supply us with interesting proofs of its opulence, its taste, and its industry †. — These matters properly belonging to the history of civilization, which will be found

* Near Kafimof, on the Oka, a circle-town of the government of Riazan, is standing a tartarian suburb, which seems formerly to have been the court-residence of a khan. Among the ruins is a lofty round tower, an oratory or chapel, the remains of a palace and a mausoleum, all constructed of brick or burnt tiles. Not far from Astrakhan are the ruins of the old Astrakhan; and higher up the Volga, near Tzaritzin, similar heaps of rubbish which have evidently been a spacious town. On the Volga, below the mouth of the Kama, are found well-preserved and partly magnificent remains of the ancient Brachtimof, or Bolgar. In the citadel of Kazan are still seen monuments of the tartarian monarchy. On the Irtysh, in the vicinity of Tobolsk, are the remains of Sibir, the capital. In Siberia and the kirghisian steppe are many ruins of towns, not to mention memorials of inferior consequence.

† In the museum of the imperial academy of sciences at St. Petersburg, are preserved a multitude of vessels, diadems, weapons, military trophies, ornaments of dress, coins, &c. which have been found in the tartarian tombs on the Volga and in Siberia. They are of gold, silver, and copper. The greatest antiquity of the tombs is 1100 years, the latest 400.

in

in other parts of this work, we shall here be the less circumstantial; and only farther remark, that the Tartars, next to the principal nation *, constitute the most numerous part of the inhabitants of the russian empire. The branches of this nation which belong to Russia are, the proper Tartars, the Nogayans, the Mefchtscheryaks, the Baschkirs, the Kirghises, the Bukharians, the Yakutes, and the Teleutes; to which may in some sort be added the tribes of Caucasus.

1. By the term PROPER TARTARS are understood in Russia all those stocks, which call themselves by no other name, and are for the most part descendants of the inhabitants of those two great states, which the successors of Tschingis erected on the Volga and in Siberia. We will, therefore, in the account of their present condition, follow this division, first making ourselves acquainted with the KAPTSCHAK, and afterwards with the SIBERIAN TARTARS.

The state of Kaptfchak, which Baaty, the kinsman of the great Tschinghis, had founded, fell, as we have above related, in the year 1441, into four khanates: Kazan, Astrakhan, Kaptfchak, and the Krim. The first three were,

* Not long since it was so. At present probably the Poles are more numerous than the Tartars.

somewhat more than a hundred years afterwards, conquered by the Russians; but the fourth of these states preserved its independency above two hundred and thirty years longer. At present they all together form a part of the Russian empire.

The khanate of Kaptfchak, which, from the time of its separation in 1441, has its principal seat in the plain which is now called the Astrakhan-steppe, came the earliest to its downfall. So long ago as the year 1506 it lost its last khan, and was divided among the sovereigns of Kazan, Astrakhan, and the Krim, on which at length it came to Russia by the conquest of the two former states. These repeated subjugations had reduced the Kaptfchak Tartars to an insignificant remainder, which now, removed from its ancient homestead, dwells among Bashkirs and Kirghises, though still retaining its appellation and the memory of its origin.

The khanate of Kazan subsisted as a peculiar state till the year 1552, when it was conquered by Ivan II. and incorporated for ever with the Russian empire. The city of Kazan had been built in the year 1257, by a son of Baaty; this khanate asserted its independency about the same time (1441) when the Krim disjoined itself from Kaptfchak. — The present Kazan Tartars are
but

but a feeble remnant of what they were, partly consisting of those who remained in their old seats, and partly such as settled as fugitives in other districts of Russia. They principally dwell at present in the governments of Kazan, Simbirsk, Riasan, Viatka, Perme, and Ufa (particularly in the orenburg district of that government); their number is indeed upon the whole considerable, but in no degree proportionate to the idea we form of their antient population, from historical accounts; for, as far as we are able to conclude from particular statements, they cannot amount to far above 100,000. These Tartars form the root of the nation in Russia; they being not only unmingled, but are also of a superior civilization to most of the remaining branches of their brethren.

The khanate of Astrakhan arose soon after that of Kazan, likewise from a detached part of Kaptshak, and, in the year 1554, fell into the hands of the victorious Ivan. The present city of Astrakhan, however, is not the tartarian chief seat, which was conquered and destroyed by that tzar: the ruins of the latter being still to be seen somewhat higher up on the western bank of the Volga. — The present ASTRAKHAN TARTARS are for the most part Nogayans. They are distinguished into town, village, and

tent Tartars. The first dwell in Astrakhan, the second in six villages near Astrakhan, and the tent-Tartars wander about the Caspian. At the conquest of Astrakhan, the town and village Tartars reckoned themselves at 25,000 bows; in the year 1715 there were still 12,000 of them; but in 1772 they were only 1200, and of the tent-Tartars scarcely 2000 kettles or families. This decline proceeds from their rambling disposition, so often moving them to change their homestead: they went off singly and in companies, to the caucasian and krimean Tartars, to the Bafchkirs and even to the Kirghises.

The khanate of the Krim, which, as far down as to the year 1783, still constituted a peculiar state, now also belongs to the russian empire. As the history of the peninsula of the Krimea commences long before the origin of the great kaptshakian empire, and the fortunes of this country excited an interest even in the polished nations of antiquity, it cannot well be considered as a useless deviation from our plan, if we devote a few lines to the earlier state of this province, previous to the possession of it by the Tartars.

The first known inhabitants of the Krim were Kimmerians, a great and martial people of the race of the Thracians. Of all their extensive possessions, which were ravished from them by
the

the Skythians, they retained the Krim the longest. Six hundred and fifty-five years before the christian æra, they were, it seems, driven from the plain by these their stronger neighbours; but they maintained their station in the mountains, under the name of Taurians, or mountaineers. From them the whole peninsula obtained the appellation Taurica (Tavrika). In the former half of the sixth century Greeks began to settle here. The Milesians built Pantikapæum or Bosphorus*, and Theodosia†; the pontic Heraclians and the Delians, Kherson. The commerce which the Greeks from that time forward here carried on was uncommonly flourishing, and contributed not a little to enlarge their geography.

In the fifth century, the Archæanaktides, a race which originated from Mytilene, founded a monarchy in Bosphorus. About a hundred years afterwards, the Skythians were for the most part exterminated by the Sarmates; upon which, by insensible degrees, the Taurians extended their dominion over nearly the whole peninsula. They pressed so hard upon the empire of Bosphorus and the free state of Kherson, that these submitted themselves to the great Mithri-

* In the tartarian, Kertsch; in rufs, Vosfor.

† In tartarian, Keffa; rufs, Feodosia.

dates of Pontus in 112, who also subjugated the Taurians, and consequently governed the whole Krimea.

About the beginning of the christian æra, the Alanes penetrated into the peninsula, forced the bosporian kings to pay them tribute, and exterminated the Taurians. — The sovereignty of the Alanes lasted about a hundred and fifty years, and in their place came the Goths. During the period of their possession, (in the time of Dioclesian and Constantine the great,) christianity was disseminated in the Krimea. These Goths were indeed subjected to the Hunns, in 375, but they retained their habitations in the mountains, and had their own christian kings. Towards the close of the fourth century the empire of Bosphorus also came to an end.

On the downfall of the sovereignty of the Hunns, in 464, the Ungers came hither; who, with the Bulgarians, conquered also the countries between the Don and the Dniefr. A part of them went back again to Asia, and the rest were obliged to submit (679) to the Khazares *, who likewise compelled the Goths in the mountains and the grecian cities to be tributary to them. In the year 840 the province of Kherfon

* From that time the peninsula was called Khazaria,

was

was marked out by the emperor Theophilus, which comprised all the grecian cities and places in the Krim and the Kuban ; for though these were equally tributary to the Khazares, they however acknowledged the supremacy of the byzantine court.

Ungers and Khazares were again (882) subdued by the Petschenegers or Kanglians ; who, about the middle of the eleventh century, were forced in their turn to resign the dominion to the Komanes (Uzes or Poloftzes). This people also extorted a tribute from the krimean Greeks and Goths. — About this time the city Sugdaya (now Sudak) rose into such consideration by its commerce, that all the grecian possessions in the Krim received the name of Sugdania. Till the year 1204 these had always acknowledged the sovereignty of Byzantium : they were now independent.

To the Komanes at length succeeded the Mongoles or Tartars in the sovereignty of this peninsula ; and thenceforward (1237) the Krim formed a province of the kaptschakian empire. Now detached tartarian princes, to whom the name of Ulutz-beys were given, roamed about the plain with their hordes. The Greeks and Goths paid tribute to the Mongoles, as they had before done to the Komanes ; also several Tscher-

kassians settled here. From the city of Krim, to which the Mongoles carried on a great trade, the whole peninsula obtained the name by which it was usually called till the year 1783.

While the Latins were masters of Constantinople, they, especially the Venetians, prosecuted a very important commerce to the Krim and to Taman (Matriga); but in later times the Genoese appropriated it exclusively to themselves, and in the bloody wars that broke out in consequence, they gained the superiority at various times. By permission of the Mongoles, they rebuilt Keffa, and made that city the centre of their commerce; they conquered Soldaya (Sudak) and Cembalo (Baluklava); they paid indeed duties and imposts to the Mongoles, when they were in full force, but when the hordes were disturbed by intestine commotions, they even bid them defiance, and the princes of the k Crimean plains were ordinarily elected and deposed at the discretion of the Genoese. About this time two branches of the Indian commerce found their way to these regions: the one over the Amoor, the Caspian, and through Astrakhan to Tana; the other by the way of Bagdat and Tauris, to Trebizond and Sevastopolis. Tana was possessed at the same time by the Genoese and the Venetians, but under mongolian sovereignty.

On

On the fall of the state of Kaptfchak, the Krim was formed into a peculiar khanate, the founder whereof was Hadschy-Gheray, about 1441. From that period the Tartars dated their dominion, though the khans were still descendants from the house of Tschinghis-khan. The proper founder of the tartar-krimean state, Mengly-Gheray, who, in the fifteenth century, through the assistance of the Osmans, had come to the complete sovereignty of the peninsula*, submitted

* Mengly-Gheray was a descendant of the Tschinghis; and, while yet very young, was taken prisoner in an engagement by the Genoese, who caused him to be well-educated, and in all respects treated like a prince. On being driven to extremities by the Tartars, they sent the young Mengly, with some of the principal Genoese, to Constantinople, for the purpose of moving Mohammed II. to take them under his protection. The sultan shewed great affection to Mengly; and, when the Tartars by their dissensions had ruined the interior commerce of the country, they petitioned Mohammed to give them a khan of their own, he appointed this young prince to that station, who, on his part, acknowledged the paramount supremacy of the porte. This state of dependence not proving agreeable to the Tartars, Mengly, not long after his arrival in the Krim, was obliged to apply for auxiliary troops of the Turks, with which he not only (1475) reduced the Tartars to obedience, but even annihilated the genoise authority in the peninsula. But when Mengly had augmented the forces of his state by these conquests and by the addition of many tartarian colonies, and
was

submitted himself to the porte as its vassal, who soon arrogated the right of imposing sea-tolls on their trade, to keep forts in their country, and at length even to set up and to depose their khans at pleasure. Under this austere despotism the Krim subsisted till the year 1774, when Catharine II., by the peace of Kutschuk-Kainardgi, procured the independence of the khan, and obtained for the russian empire some strong-places on the frontiers, as a safeguard against the predatory incursions of the Tartars. A few years afterwards (1783) the whole peninsula, as is well-known came to Russia; and, at present, together with the eastern Nogay, or the krimian steppe, forms a government, under the name of the Tauridan province.

The Krim had but few tartar inhabitants, when Mengly-Gheray was the ruler of it. On occasion of the war which he carried on with his relative branches on the Volga, he brought many thousand Nogays with him to the Krim, whom he obliged to settle there. The great population of this peninsula, to which belong

was thinking to withdraw himself from the supremacy of the porte, the Turks sent garrisons into the principal towns, and reduced the khan to a dependence, which afterwards, and particularly from the year 1584, grew into a complete subjection.

Arme-

Armenians, Greeks, Turks, Jews, &c. besides Tartars, had already much declined, during the troubles, under the last khan. The Armenians and Greeks submitted themselves (1779) for the most part voluntarily to the russian empire, and retired to the former government of Azof or what at present is that of Ekatarinoslaf; and the Tartars fled in such great numbers to Avchasia and to the Ottomans, that credible eye-witnesses think they cannot rate the population of the Krim in the year 1782 higher than at 50,000 men.

We now proceed to the SIBERIAN TARTARS, who form, as it were, the second line of the proper Tartars in Russia. Siberia contains so great a multitude of tartarian colonies, and many of them appear to have been so long naturalized in the country, that, from the perplexity and the contradictions that prevail in the accounts of them, we are not capable of tracing out a general and connected history of these tribes. We will, therefore, take under this head the events of the mongole-tartarian state in Siberia, and lay them as a ground-work; after which we will endeavour to arrange by this clue such historical fragments as may serve to throw a light on several distinct nations.

The

The mongole-tartarian state in Siberia, or the khanate of Turan, was, as has already been cursorily mentioned, founded about the middle of the thirteenth century by Scheibany, a brother, or kinsman, of Baaty, and took its origin in the region of the Aral-mountains and on the river Yaik (now Ural), where this khan had inherited possessions from Baaty, which he presently enlarged by conquests in Siberia to a very considerable territory. The first residence of the tartar-siberian princes was on the river Tura, on the spot where the present Tiumen stands *, and was called, in honour of the grand-khan, Tfchinghidin: afterwards this city was razed, and the khans took their seat, perhaps for fear of the attacks of the Kazanians, on the eastern shore of the Irtysh, where they built the city Isker, which afterwards got the name of Sibir, and lies in the vicinage of the present Tobolsk. The last khan of Turan, previous to the russian conquest of Siberia, was Kutshum, a Tfchinghise of the kaptschak lineage, who went from the Kafatschia-Orda to Siberia, and subjected

* Tiumen is a circle-town in the tobolskoi district of the government of Tobolsk, 254 versts from that chief city. The Tartars at Tiumen still call this town Tfchinghi, or Tfchinghi-Tura.

this state to him, either with the free will of the inhabitants, or by the right of the conqueror. This prince was the first who established the mohammedan religion in Siberia; for although this faith had found admission much earlier among the Tartars, yet there was a necessity for all the persuasives of enthusiasm and even the force of arms to render its adoption more general. The arrival of the Russians interrupted these conversions ere they could be rendered complete; and the remoter provinces of the khanate were still imbued with paganism.

The circuit of the empire, of which Kutschum was sovereign, cannot indeed be accurately stated; but certain it is, that the Tartars on the Irtysh and the Tobol and in the steppe Baraba, as well as the Ostiaks and Vogulés in their neighbourhood, are become his subjects. The Tartars on the Tura and the Iset have, according to some accounts, formed a peculiar state independent of Kutschum, whose khan had his seat at Tiumen. — Of the discovery and conquest of this country by the Russians mention has already been made in several places of this section*, we shall therefore here pass it over in silence, and proceed at once to notice the seve-

* See the articles, Russians, Siberian-kozaks, and Mongoles.

ral branches of which the Siberian Tartars of the present day consist.

Although the generality of these colonies came not till the thirteenth century, on the aggrandizement of the Mongol-Tartarian territory, yet there are also some stems which seem to have been long before that epocha in possession of several districts of Siberia. If we may judge from their oral traditions, they esteem themselves in some measure the original inhabitants of that country; but as there is a total failure of historical accounts on this head, and the generality of the Tartarian stems have so much intermingled with the other Siberian nations, that their descent is scarcely to be ascertained, nothing remains for us to do but to follow the political distribution which is adopted in the records of the Russian Chancery, which distinguish the Siberian Tartars into various stems according to the districts which they inhabit. As these now, both in their physical and moral individuality, differ greatly from each other, it will be necessary to mention the most remarkable of them by name.

Among these are the TURALINZES, one of the first colonies who constructed, for themselves, permanent habitations, when the Tartars subjugated Siberia in the thirteenth century;
thence

thence also their name, (from Tura, in the tartar language, a town,) which signifies the same with settlers. Ever since their arrival they have inhabited the region on both sides of the river, which from them is denominated the Tura, between the Tavda and the Isset, in the ekatarienburg and tobolskoi districts of the governments of Perme and Tobolsk. Their oldest fixed seat was the forementioned city Tschinghidin; but when Yermak made the conquest of these parts, the khan Yepansa resided higher up the Tura in a city, which, after their restoration by the Russians, was named Turinsk, and bears this name at present, though it is also called by the Tartars Yepantschina.

The TOBOLSKIAN TARTARS have their appellation from the river Tobol, on which they dwell, and are the descendants of the inhabitants of Isker or Sibir, their antient capital, which being reduced to a heap of rubbish after Yermak's conquest, they abandoned, and instead of it the Russians afterwards built Tobolsk. They must not be confounded with the tartar inhabitants of Tobolsk, who are a bukharian colony, as we shall see farther on. Their number amounts to upwards of 4000 males.

The TOMSKIAN TARTARS dwell on both sides of the river Tom, above and below the city of
Tomsk;

Tomsk; but in the town itself is a colony of Bukharians. According to the census of 1760 they were only taxed at 430 males. — The KRASNOYARSKIAN and KUSNETZKIAN TARTARS are remains of antient stems, who are every where much alike, and also bear a great resemblance with the mongolian tribes, which is easily explained from the close intercourse in which these races lived during their oppression by the Soongares. — The TARTARS OF THE OBY consist of 16 volosts, of which 12 have permanent habitations on the Oby, and the others nomadise. In the year 1766 the former counted 1115, and the latter 500 males. — The TSCHULYMSKIAN TARTARS dwelt formerly between the Oby and the Yenissey, but, constantly pressed by the Soongares and Kirghises, not always in the same district. Since they have enjoyed protection and repose under the russian sovereignty, they inhabit the whole region along the river Tschulym, and now amount to between 5 and 6000 bows. — The BARABINZES inhabit the country between the Oby and the Irtysh, which is called the Baraba, or the barabinzian steppe; and, as far as their tradition goes, they are the proper owners of it. At the conquest of Siberia by the Russians, they were under Kutschum-khan, and in the year 1595 came into
8 subjection

subjection to Russia. Since that time they have been often plundered on the incursions of the Soongares and Kirghises, and even compelled by the former to pay them a yearly tribute; but since the Siberian frontier-line has been established, they have enjoyed complete tranquillity. They are about 5000 bows in number. — The KATSCHINTZES, on the left shore of the Yenissey, are taxed at the rate of about 1000 bows, and have possessed their territory longer than the history of that country reaches. — The KISTIM and TULIBERT TARTARS, on the left bank of the Tom, form two volosts, and approach the Teleutes. — The BIRIUSSES, with the Katschintzes, come nearer to the proper Tartars, and consist of about 170 bows. — The ABINTZES, in the superior region of the Tom, reckon themselves at some hundred bows, and likewise resemble the Teleutes. — The SAYANE TARTARS name themselves Soeyoen, from the well-known sayane mountains, in which they nomadise on the left shore of the Yenissey. They pay taxes for 150 bows. — The BELTIRS wander with the Sayanes and Biriusses on the Abakan, and may be estimated at about 150 bows. — The VERCHOTOMSKIAN TARTARS constitute a peculiar stem, which numbers only about 200 bows. They nomadise about the

sources of the Tom, and resemble the Abintzes; — Besides these there are yet several insignificant stems, as the MELESSIAN, the ARALIAN, the UDINSKIAN, the YARINSKIAN TARTARS, and others. The tribes before-mentioned are, however, in general much more numerous than we have here stated their population to be, as the enumerations in these extensive deserts, and from their rambling way of life, are attended with great difficulties. All the regions we have noticed are in the governments of Tobolsk and Kolhiyan, and partly in the eastern half of that of Perme, beyond the Ural-mountains, which, therefore, are to be regarded as the peculiar home-seat of the Siberian Tartars.

2. We come now to the second main branch of the Tartars, the MANKATS or NOGAYANS. Of this great and numerous people we have no authentic and connected history. According to the arabic and grecian writers it owes its origin to a mongole chieftain, named Nogay, who, towards the termination of the thirteenth century, was sent with a strong body of troops by a khan of Kaptfchak to conquer the countries lying beyond the Euxine, and who actually subjected the regions from the Don to the Danube, but afterwards shook off the sovereignty of the khans of Kaptfchak, and became the founder of

an empire, which, however, presently fell to pieces under his successors. Notwithstanding the annihilation of this state, the name of its founder continued to live in the nation which he had governed; and it is very probable that the Nogayans spread themselves from the Volga to the Ural, and thence again as far as the Irtysh*, and were not driven out of these regions by the Kalmuks till the æra of the russian sovereignty. — They now inhabit the steppes on the north side of the caucasean mountains and the Euxine quite to the other side of the Danube, and consist of several larger and smaller stems, which at times are known to change their place of abode, and even their names. The Nogayans subject to Russia are partly in what was formerly called the eastern Nogay or the krimean steppe, partly in the Kuban, and partly dispersed about the Volga and in other regions of the empire.

The EASTERN NOGAY forms the northern larger half of the province of Taurida, denominated by the Russians the krimean steppe. It is about twice as large as the peninsula of the Krim, and was formerly much larger; but in

* In the territory of the town of Ufa is still in being what is called the Nogay-road; and on the Irtysh is a region which bears the name of the Nogayan steppe.

the year 1739, by the peace of Belgrade, more than the half of it came under the russian sceptre, which part belongs at present to the government of Ekatarinoflaf. The remainder, which likewise had formed a part of the states of the kriméan khans, fell to Russia on her taking possession of the Krim in 1783; and this now constitutes the circles Melitopol and Dneprovsk in the province of Taurida.

The eastern Nogay has had almost always the same fortunes and been inhabited from the same people with the Krim. Kimmerians, Skythians, Sarmates, Alanes, Goths, Hunns, Ungres, and Bulgarians, Petschenegrans, Komanes, and lastly the Tartars, have successively inhabited this country. At length those Tartars settled here, who are called Nogayans, and still at this moment form a considerable part of its population. — Till the year 1770 the stems of Yedischkul, Dshembuluk, and Kurgœs resided here. The horde Dshembuluk had formerly their abode on the Dshem (the river Yemba) in the kirghisian steppe, where they were subjugated by a khan of the Torgots. Still at the commencement of the present century free Nogayans wandered in this region; the famous kalmuk khan Ayuka drove them, however, farther westward across the river Ural and the Volga, upon which Peter the

the great conveyed them to their brother-races on the rivers Kuma and Kuban, excepting the chundurovian-nogayan horde, whom he declared to be subjects of the Kalmuks, and sent them to them. During the troubles that arose upon khan Ayuka's death among the Kalmuks, the Nogayans in their neighbourhood suffered so much, that the hordes Dshembuluk and Yedisfan thought it expedient to withdraw in 1715, to the number of more than 10,000 families, to the Kuban, and to put themselves under the protection of the porte. Hence the greater part of them were transplanted into the eastern Nogay, whither, a few years after, they were followed by the rest of the hordes. During the war before the last between Russia and the Porte, in 1770, the two hordes betook themselves to the Kuban, under the russian sovereignty, which example the Yedischkul and Akermenian or Belgorodian horde soon followed. By the peace of Kutschuk-Kainardgi they were all made over to the krimean khan, and on the taking possession of his states in the year 1783 they came back again to the russian empire.

The second and at present the only main-seat of the Nogayans is the Kuban. This country too has experienced various and remarkable cir-

cumstances. As far back as we can with any certainty recur to history, there dwelt along the coasts of the sea of Azof, from the Don to the northernmost exit of the river Kuban, a nation, or rather a mixture of people, which were wont to be comprised under the name of Sarmates; at the other mouths of the Kuban, and about the Euxine, dwelt nations of kimmerian or thracian descent. These coasts were very early visited by Phœnicians and Kavians, afterwards even by the Greeks. In the former half of the sixth century, before the christian æra, Ionians and Æolians settled at the mouths of the Don and the Kuban, and there built trading towns and cities, which in a short time flourished and became wealthy. The towns on the Kuban fell at the same time with Pantikapæum, under the dominion of the Archæanaktides; two-and-forty years afterwards Spartacus became their ruler; and under his successors the bosporian kings, they lived till the time of the great Mithridates.

After the Sarmates were for the most part gone to Europe, five years before Alexander, we find the Yazamates as the inhabitants of this entire tract of country. After them appear other nations, from those swarms of people who were called Alanes, and of whom remains are
still

still preserved in the Tscherkessians, the Chechians, and Avchases. — About the year 112, before the birth of Christ, the grecian cities fell under the power of the great Mithridates; and some of his successors were so puissant, that they reduced all the inferior stems, about the coasts of the sea of Azof as far as to the Don, to their obedience. On the incurfion of the Hunns, in 375, many of the Alanes were driven to Europe, the possessions of those who remained behind contracted, and the bosphorian empire demolished. Ninety years afterwards came the Ungres and Bulgares in the place of the Hunns; they proceeded to conquer the Krim and all the country between the Don and the Dnieftr. In the year 679, however, the Chazares subjugated all the nations of the coasts, from the roads of Kaffa as far as the Don, and extended their conquests into Europe. The empire which they here founded lasted 336 years, and was for a long time the mightiest and most flourishing state in these eastern regions. By the inroads of the Petschenégans, and the flight of the Ungres (882), the Chazares lost all their european possessions: they retained nothing but the country between the Kuban and the Don, and the tract on the southern and eastern shore of the last-mentioned river. This latter region was ravished

from them (965) by the Russians combined with the byzantine Greeks, made themselves masters of the countries bordering on the sea of Azof (1015), completely overturned the chazarian state, and erected a distinct principality on the isle of Taman, to which both the Chazares and the Ziches (russ, Yasy) were for a long time tributary *.

It appears, that towards the end of the eleventh century, while Russia was torn by intestine broils, the principality of Taman was lost to that empire. The Komanes or Polovtzes took possession of the north-eastern part of the Kuban, as did the Ziches and other tcherkessian stems of the southern and western districts. At length (1221) the Mongoles made their first attack. The Komanes were either massacred, or expelled, or subdued by these perpetual dis-

* This is the famous principality of Tmutarakan, mentioned by the russian annalists from the latter half of the tenth century to the year 1127, and concerning the situation whereof so many and such various conjectures have been formed. This matter is now reduced to certainty by the inscription on a marble discovered a few years since, that this principality was on the island of Taman, and the capital of it on the spot where the antient Phanagoria stood. See the privy-counsellor Muslin-Puschkin's historical disquisition on the situation of the old russian principality of Tmutarakan in Storch's materials, &c. p. 1-50.

turbers of the world: but the Ziches fought bravely for their liberty, and could not be made to submit till the year 1277, when they were overpowered by Mangu-Timur-khan and the famous Nogay. Nevertheless their submission was always very doubtful and conditional; and they remained, in fact, independent in their woody and mountainous regions. The Ottomans indeed (1484) conquered the cities and forts of Taman, Temryuk, and Atschuk (Atschuyef); but they gained thereby no sovereignty over the Tscherkessians. A Sandschak-pasha was till the war of 1770 with Russia, their viceroy in these towns, where they shared the moiety of the imposts with the khan of the Krimea. At the peace of 1774, the sultan of the Ottomans relinquished his possessions in these parts, but, contrary to treaty, held Taman and Temryuk in a state of siege, till the krimean khan, by the aid of the Russians, drove the ottoman garrisons out of them. By the treaty of the year 1783 Russia obtained, together with the Krimea and the eastern Nogay, also the northern part of the Kuban as far as the promontory of Caucasus, from which that tract of country with the whole government to which it belongs, has received its name.

At

At the commencement of the ottoman period the krimean khan had not as yet the sovereignty of the Kuban, the khan of Astrakhan exacting homage as the paramount lord of that district. Though, properly speaking, it was governed by petty tscherkassian princes, who were dependent on no one. Mohammed Gheray was the first krimean khan who attempted to enlarge his authority here; his successors prosecuted the war with the Tscherkassians, and were constantly gaining ground upon them. They transplanted hither numerous swarms of astrakhan Nogays, who had either been carried off by them in war, or who had voluntarily (especially at and after the demolition of the astrakhan state) quitted the Volga, and put themselves under the protection of the krimean khan.

The KUBANIAN NOGAYS, called also the little or black Nogays (Kara Nogay), are distributed into various hordes and stems, whereof the Kafay-aul and the Naurus-aul are the most remarkable, and together compose about 10,000 families. Besides these, here have been for a long time a part of the yedischkulian and the dshembulukian hordes; as also a stem which bears the name of Kiptschak. In the year 1770
came

came hither, as has been already mentioned; the hordes Budshak (Akkermen), Yedisfan, Yedischkul, and Dshembuluk, from the other side of the Don, and were still here in 1783, when the Russians took possession of the Kuban. The strength of these four stems is estimated at 70,000 bows, and from the testimony of an author, who made inquiries on the spot, the population of all the eastern and kubanian Nogays, a few years ago, amounted to upwards of 500,000 families: but this number is probably exaggerated.

Besides these, who are but lately come under the Russian sovereignty, there are, in various parts of the empire, other remains and colonies of this nation of Nogays. Among which are the ASTRAKHAN TARTARS, who, for the most part, compose the main stem of the present Nogays, and of whom we spoke more circumstantially above. — The CHUNDUROVIAN Nogays form a considerable horde, nomadising on the Achtuba, an arm of the Volga, and numbers about 1000 yurts. It has already been related in another place*, that a strong cohort of Nogays, who were about to spread across the river Ural, were made subject to Ayuka, khan of Torgot. Ayuka's successor, Donduk Ombo, reduced

* See the article CELEET, or Kalmuks.

likewise

likewise several thousand tents of chundurovian Tartars under the dominion of the volgaic horde. When the Torgot in 1770 fled into the Soon-garèy, the Chundurovians made themselves free, by securing themselves on the islands of the Volga under the fort of Krasnoyarsk. — Besides these, there are several bodies of Nogays dispersed among the other Tartars of the empire; accordingly the whole number of Nogays in subjection to the russian empire is very considerable.

3. The MESCHTSCHERLÆKS, who form an old distinct tartarian stem, were already known under that name to Nestor. In the fourteenth century they had their seat in the modern government of Nishney-Novgorod; they afterwards settled in the country of the Baschkirs, for which they were obliged to pay a ground-rent. On account of their fidelity during several rebellions of the Baschkirs, they were freed from this tax, and now dwell among the Baschkirs and Tartars in the orenburg district of the government of Ufa, where they amount to about 2000 families.

4. The BASCHKIRS call themselves Baschkurt, and derive their origin partly from the Nogayans, and partly from the Bulgarians. Probably they are Nogayans, whom the Bulgarians adopted among them: their country at least is a part of
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the antient *Bolgaria*. They formerly roamed about the southern *Siberia* under the conduct of their own princes; to avoid the molestations of the *siberian khans* they settled in their present possessions, spread themselves about the rivers *Volga* and *Ural*, and were subject to the *kazanian khanate*. On the overthrow of that state by *Ivan II.* they voluntarily took refuge under the *russian sceptre*; they afterwards however frequently revolted against the government, whereby their prosperity, as well as their population, have been considerably diminished. In the year 1770 they consisted of 27,000 families, having their homestead in the governments of *Ufa* and *Perme*.

5. The *KIRGHISES*, or *Kirghis-Kaizaki*, call themselves *Sara-Kaizaki* (*steppe-kozaks*), and likewise *Kirghises*, probably from the founder of their horde. By their traditions they are originally *Nogays*; *Abulgasi* affirms them to be descendants of the primitive *Mongoles*, who at first dwelt about the river *Ikran* in the vicinity of the chinese wall, and at the general migration and transplantation of the *mongolian* races, travelled into more western regions. But the antient history of this people is involved in the greater obscurity and doubt, as, till the *russian conquest* of *Siberia*, nothing was known of them in Europe.

Europe. At the time of that conquest the Kirghises nomadised at the superior Yenissey, about the Yufs, the Abakan, &c. and in the year 1606, they were subjected to the russian empire at the same time with the Barabinses. From that period, by their pusillanimity, their faithlessness, their frequent rebellions, and by the subjugation of correlative nations, they have got the character of an extremely turbulent and dangerous people. The revolutions which have thereby been produced in their political condition, induced them to remove from the Yenissey to the Oby, and gradually farther to the west and the south. They at present inhabit the prodigious desert between the Ural and the Irtysh, denominated by the Russians the Kirghisian steppe, and bordering westward on the Caspian and the government of Caucasus, northwards on the parts about the Ufa and the Tobol, and eastwards on the government of Kolhyvan.

As long as the Kirghises have been known to other nations, they have always been divided into three hordes, the great, the middle, and the little hordes: the first, from its intrepidity and the protection afforded them by the inaccessible indian mountains, is still independent, notwithstanding the great efforts made by their southern neighbours the Soongarians, to subjugate

gate them. The middle and the little hordes have acknowledged the russian sovereignty ever since the year 1731, but have always shewed themselves as unfaithful allies and a very piratical people; for which reason lines of small forts have been constructed along the frontier rivers. Each of these two hordes are estimated at 30,000 kabitkies or families; but they are probably much stronger.

6. The TELEUTES or Telengutes, are thought to have their name from the lake Telengul in the Altay-mountains; they are denominated also by the Russians the white Kalmuks, because they formerly lived among the Soongarians. Abulgasi reckons them among the mongolian races: as their speech however is manifestly a corrupt tartarian, their origin may more consistently be derived from that nation. In the year 1609 they did homage for the first time to the russian empire; but not till towards the middle of the last century when some stems of them removed higher up the Tom, where they became properly subjects of Russia: the greater part, however, remained with the Kalmuks. The former dwell partly in the tomskoi district of the tobolskian, partly in the kusnetzkian circle of the government of Kolhyvan, and their number is so small, that they only reckon about 500 males.

7. The

7. The YAKUTES, who denominate themselves Socha, must formerly have been one people with the Tartars, if we may judge from their language and bodily form. Their antient homestead extended from the Sayane-mountains as far as the Angara and the Lena. Persecuted by the Buræts and Mongoles, they removed down the Lena to their present rude and inclement districts, where they are found in the government of Irkutsk on both sides of that river quite to the Frozen-ocean. In the year 1620 they submitted to the russian conquerors, and at the middle of the present century they numbered upwards of 40,000 bows; but since that time they are considerably increased.

8. In addition to all the tartarian nations we have hitherto mentioned, there are still considerable colonies formed of tartarian tribes in various parts of the russian empire. The unbounded religious toleration, the powerful protection and the prudent policy of the russian government, have long rendered that country a refuge not only for such as are fond of change, but to all in general of the injured and oppressed among the neighbouring nations. The tartar nations, like all the orientals, being more governed by a roaming disposition, than the Europeans, frequently exposed to ill-usage from the caprice of their
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their arbitrary lords and the inroads of their neighbours, find in Russia not only all the benefits of civil society in a far higher degree, but also numerous settlements of their collateral races domesticated there, with whom they are intimately connected by language, manners, and religion. All these motives in conjunction are so alluring to the surrounding tartarian nations, that the numbers of them who migrate annually to Russia may be considered as a considerable source of population. Besides the single arrivals which take place with all the tartar stems in the empire, incorporate themselves with them, and therefore lose their distinctions among them, there are, particularly in Siberia and in the governments of Ufa, Kazan, and Caucasus, whole colonies, more or less considerable, of these fugitives, who, like the Tepteres mentioned among the finnish races, in some sort form new stems. Thus, for example, the fort Nagaibak, on the Ik, (a river of the Kama,) and many frontier places of Siberia, Orenburg, and Astrakhan, contain such mingled bodies of Tartars. — Of the nogaik hordes, even before their entire subjection, considerable stems settled singly among the Tartars of Kazan, Ufa, and Orenburg, but especially among the Baschkirs. — In Astrakhan, Kisliar, Mosdok, and in general about the

Terek, are numerous bodies of the caucasian nations, particularly of such as are not under the russian protection. As we shall speak of these in the sequel, we pass them by at present, in order to cast an eye upon the still independent tartar tribes, of whom considerable colonies are found in the russian empire. To these principally belong the Bukharians, Chivayans, Tashkentians, Turkostans, Aralians, Truchmenians, and Karakalpaks.

The LESSER BUKHARIA lies, as every one knows, contiguous to the Caspian and the lake Aral in the east, and is surrounded by Persia, the northern India, and several petty tartarian states. The capital Bukhara is by the strait road scarce thirty days journey (about 1500 versts) from Orenburg. — The Bukharians affirm themselves to be unmixed descendants of the Uzes and the modern Turkomans who settled here at the time of the military campaigns in the west. Their form of government is monarchical; but the khan is elected from the princely family, his power is limited, and he may be deposed from his dignity, though this case seldom happens.

The russian empire has from time immemorial possessed very considerable COLONIES OF BUKHARIANS in Siberia. The tartarian suburbs or

slobodes at Tobolsk, Tara, and Tomsk, are entirely, and those of Turinsk and Tiumen, for the most part, inhabited by Bukharians; there are also many of them in the neighbourhood of those cities, where they live either in particular villages or among the Tartars. In the Baschkirèy are two bukharian volosts; and, besides them a multitude of smaller settlements in the government of Ufa, in Astrakhan, and other places. All these colonies taken in the aggregate compose greatly above 20,000 males. The civil establishments have mostly arisen from the trading caravans, and still continue to receive some augmentation by the merchants who stay behind. The Bukharians in the villages, and those dispersed among the Tartars, are almost all fugitives who have escaped from kirghisian bondage.

The CHIVAYANS or Chivinses, who are likewise called Charafians, dwelt some time ago about the lower parts of the river Ural. Their present country lies on the east side of the lake Aral, and borders on Persia, the lesser Bukharia, and other tartarian states. The distance of their capital, Chiva, from Orenburg, is computed at only 12 or 15 days journey (6 or 700 versts). Their political constitution is similar to that of the Bukharians. — TURKOSTAN, or Turkestan, has long ceased to be the most flourishing and

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powerful

powerful state of these regions. It consists solely at present of the moderate town of that name, which was lately subjected to the middle kirghisian horde. — TASCHKENT is a somewhat larger state, and has a khan of its own, who, as with the Chivayans, is elected from the kirghisian princely races, and sometimes acknowledges the patronage of the Kirghises, and sometimes the sovereignty of the Soongarians. Both nations are only distinguished from the Bukharians and Chivinses by their greater poverty. The colonies, in the russian empire, of these three tribes, are attached either to the Bukharians or to the other Tartars; their number is by no means great, and they have settled here either as merchants or as escaped kirghisian captives.

The ARALIANS inhabit the coasts and islands of the lake Aral. They are an usbekian race, choosing its independent khans out of the kirghisian princely family, and not stronger than about 5000 bows. They live not in towns, but, however, in permanent villages, and are in all respects very like the Chivinses. They have no opportunity for trade; therefore they come to Russia on no other occasions than when any of them are happy enough to escape from the kirghisian slavery. In such cases they settle in the first tartarian colony they come to,

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The parent-stock of the TRUCHMENIANS, or the antient Turkomans, who are called by the Russians terekmenian tartars, still nomadise on the eastern coasts of the Caspian, where their territory extends as far as the lake Aral and Persia. The Truchmenians, of whom we are now to speak, possess on the western side of the Caspian that part of the caucasian mountains which stretches from that sea as far as the province Kakhetty of the georgian state. The generality of the districts have their own common princes; others form particular states, and some are under foreign sovereignty.

In the former half of the present century a part of these hordes fell under the yoke of the torgotan prince Ayuka, and on that occasion many truchmenian families withdrew to the Tartars of Orenburg, Ufa, and Astrakhan. In the year 1770, when the before-mentioned flight of the Kalmuks ensued, the remainder of these people, who had till then be under the dominion of the Kalmuks, set themselves at liberty, and at present nomadise as free subjects of the russian empire, about the mouth of the Kuma. Their number is continually increasing by new comers, who escape from the Kirghises, and are found though singly among the Tartars of Orenburg and Ufa, yet to no small amount.

The KARAKALPAKS, lastly, call themselves Kara-Kiptschak, and inhabit the districts on the Syr Darya, a considerable river springing from the lake Aral. They divide themselves according to their position, into the upper and the nether horde. — Previous to the origin of the kazanian khanate they removed to the Volga; where, pressed by the Nogays, they marched like the Chivinses, not as other nations did, to the west, but back towards the east, into their present seats. About the year 1742 the nether horde, then consisting of 30,000 kubitkas, implored the russian protection; but the Kirghises, against whom they were desirous of securing themselves, took such sanguinary vengeance, that the greater part of them were exterminated, and the rest were obliged to return to the upper horde. As they but seldom have the courage to flee from the kirghisian captivity, their number in Russia is but small,

The great similitude between the Bukharians, Chivinsians, Turkostanians, and Taschkentians, affords room to suppose with some probability, that these nations have all had the same origin, and even they themselves affirm that they are detached stems of the Turkostanians. The Aralians and the Truchmenians differ in many respects, and the Karakalpaks in still more, from them,

them, and appear to have always been distinct hordes.

9. In conclusion to this enumeration of tartarian nations come the TRIBES OF MOUNT CAUCASUS. From the emigrations occasioned by the military expeditions of the Mongoles and Tartars, the caucasean mountains, owing to their strong, frequently inaccessible formation, together with the fertility of their soil, have preserved not only very many remains of their expelled and fugitive inhabitants, but even so many colonies of the conquerors, that no other part of the earthly globe, of the same dimensions, holds such a variety of nations. As the victorious Tartars, who as it were swallowed up the residuary tribes, and habituated them by degrees to their mode of life, their manners, and their faith, have also confounded these nations and corrupted their languages; accordingly, from the difficulty of reducing them to their primitive stocks, they are usually all comprised, the Georgians excepted, under the denomination of MOUNTAIN-TARTARS. Several of these tribes are properly russian subjects; others are vassals, and others again are protected by Persia and the Porte, or have hitherto maintained their independence. As these relations are occasionally changed according to circumstances, those who

cannot properly be classed among the inhabitants of the russian empire should not be entirely passed over; yet we will principally notice only those nations who inhabit the northern half of Caucasus.

We here find, besides the Nogayans and Truchmenians, which have already been pronounced to be genuine Tartars, three particularly numerous and nearly related tribes composing the ground-work of most of the caucasian nations: TSCHERKASSIANS, AVCHASIANS, and ZICHIANs. — In the term TSCHERKASSIANS are frequently comprised not only the two other stems just mentioned, but even several petty tribes of Caucasus, as the Tschetschengians, the Kistians, &c. The people properly bearing this name inhabit that part of Caucasus which is called the great and the little Kabardia, the islands of the lower Kuban, and the southern bank of that river. They denominate themselves Adige, that is, islanders; by the Russians they are called Tscherkessi, and by the rest of Europe Circassians.

This nation is formed of the relics of the mingled swarm usually comprehended under the appellation Alanians, and who, as we have before seen *, settled on the northern side of Cau-

* See the history of the kubanian Nogays.

casus soon after the Yazamates. The Tscherkassians, or races collaterally related to them, as, for example, the Zichians and Avchassians, gradually took possession of the southern regions adjacent to the Kuban. During the empire of the Chazares, the byzantine emperors appear to have exercised or at least to have postulated a sort of paramount supremacy over this nation, because the Zichians were reckoned among their provinces. When the Russians erected a state upon the island and in the city of Taman, (Tmutarakhan,) the Zichians were tributary to them. But after the Komanes or Polovtzes had conquered the north-eastern part of the Kuban, they put the tscherkassian stems in possession of the southern and western, and extended themselves afterwards continually farther and farther to the north. The Zichians in the Kuban bravely maintained their freedom against the attacks of the Mongoles or Tartars, but were at length in 1277 compelled to yield to the victorious arms of Mangu-Timur and Nogay. Yet the subjection of the Zichians and the other Tscherkassians was by no means confirmed, and they remained truly independent in the upper regions of the mountains. They were even at that period still in possession of the whole eastern coast of the sea of Azof, as far as the Don.

They

They made themselves masters of the city of Kertsch in the Crimea, made frequent incursions into that peninsula and into other european countries, formed the basis of the then rising caucasean tribes and founded in Ægypt a famous dynasty. At the end of the fourteenth century the Zichians suffered much by the furious victories of the great Timur, who destroyed their habitations and particularly the city Kuban: they recovered, however, from these disasters, and afterwards asserted their liberty with energy and effect against the Ottomans, who, though they captured the cities and fortresses of Taman, Temryuk, and Atschuk, were unable to subdue the Tscherkassians. In the middle of the sixteenth century tzar Ivan II. reduced the Tscherkassians to his dominion, yet only for a short period; the kubanian Tscherkassians, on the other hand, maintained themselves as well on the Don as on the Kuban. There they formed, in conjunction with the Russians, the state of the Don-kozaks; where they retained possession of all the islands of the lower Kuban, the whole of its southern banks and the regions contiguous to the Euxine. These southern people, however, were presently (in the seventeenth century) compelled to acknowledge the paramount lordship of the krimean khan, although

though they were governed by beys of their own nation. The tribute which they paid to the khan consisted chiefly in beautiful youths and virgins for the supply of his harem. At the commencement of the present century the Tscherkassians revolted against this humiliating tribute, and put themselves under the protection of the Porte, without, however, becoming subject or tributary to it. About the middle of this century, 29 tscherkassian stems, according to Peyssonel's account, were under the kimean khan, who could easily bring into the field 100,000 men. But the least of these stems were really his subjects; the south-eastern lived almost in an entire independence, or acknowledged only with reservation the sovereignty of the Krim. At the peace of 1774 some other districts of the Tscherkassians were ceded to the khan; but on the seizure of the Kuban in the year 1783 the stems of this people in subjection to the kimean khan fell to the russian empire.

Concerning the present state and the population of the russian Tscherkassians but little can be authentically ascertained, as hitherto no enumeration has been instituted in those parts. All the districts and stems in the Kuban are properly russian subjects, inhabiting the islands of
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the lower Kuban, the whole southern shore of that river up to its source, and the regions bordering on the Euxine as far as Avchasia; consequently by the political geography of the russian empire, the circle of Phanagoria of the province of Taurida and the dwellings of the Kozaks of the Euxine. — The Tscherkassians in both the great and the little Kabardia are reckoned only among the vassals of Russia. The sovereigns of that empire style themselves, since the conquest of the upper Kabarda by Ivan II. lord of the kabardinian countries of the Tscherkassians and mountain-princes. This is not an empty title, for notwithstanding that this conquest was afterwards lost, yet the princes of the great and little Kabardèy, several times between the years 1740 and 1750, took the oath of fealty to Russia.

The AVCHASES, who are likewise called Abases or Abasges, dwell on the southern side of the Kuban and on the eastern coasts of the Euxine. The proper Avchasia or Abasa is under the ottoman supremacy, having a prince who resides at Anakopia. The western races of the Avchasians acknowledge the paramount sovereignty of the kriméan khan; and it is these who at present belong to the russian Kuban. They mostly live about the river Laba.

The

The ZICHIANs or Tſchekians, who are called by the Ruſſians Yaſi, are the principal inhabitants of the iſle of Taman. They formerly paid a ſmall tribute to the krimean khan, in all other reſpects are governed by their own beys. The iſle Atſchuk or Atſchuyef is likewiſe inhabited by Zichians. — Theſe two tribes, which, properly ſpeaking, are only one collateral branch of the Tſcherkaſſians, have belonged to the ruſſian empire, as inhabitants of the Kuban, ſince the year 1783.

The following tribes are as yet only vaſſals to Ruſſia. The KUMYKS: they inhabit the plain bordering on the rivers Sunſha and Terek, and in their territory are the famous hot-baths of Kiſliar. — The TſCHESCHENGIANS or Mikſcheſſians, in the eaſtern part of the great Kabardia, a nation that in time of war can raiſe 5000 horſemen. — The KISTENZIANS, in the little Kabardia, who are about equal in force to the laſt-mentioned. — The OSSETINZIANS, or Ofſes, probably ſprung from the antient Uzes or Polovtzes, in the middle part of the caucaſean mountains. They conſiſt of ſeveral ſmall ſtems who are either governed by Myrzas, or live under one common prince, who is a vaſſal of the ruſſian empire.

Of

Of the rest of the caucasian tribes, who are in little or no connection with Russia, the following are the most remarkable: the LESGHIANS, who inhabit the province of Lesghistan in the eastern Caucasus, between Kakhetty and Daghestan. They are divided into 27 stems, and are totally independent. — The TAVLINTZIANs, in the summits of the mountains, consist of several petty tribes, and acknowledge the protection of Persia. — The AMBARLINIANs, in the vallies formed by the mountains of Ghilan, who often change their patron-sovereign, and are at present under the persian monarch, &c.

Lastly, the GEORGIANs or Grufinians demand our notice here, not as Tartars, as they have kept themselves from all commixture with that nation, but as the most numerous and powerful body of the mountaineers of Caucasus, which is now for the greatest part subject to the russian protecting authority.

The whole country which goes under the denomination of Georgia or Grufinia, is divided into two considerable christian states. One consists of the kingdom of IMMERETIA, and the principalities of Mingrelia and Guriel, and is now governed by a common prince who bears the

the title of tzar. Each of these countries had formerly its own ruler, all acknowledging the supremacy of the grand sultan; till tzar Solomon united them under his authority and freed them from the paramount Ottomans. — The second georgian state consists of the principalities of KARDUELIA (Kartalinia) and KAKHETTY, which have long been governed by christian princes, in submission to the persian empire, but since the shock sustained by the throne of the sophys, have rendered themselves independent. Each of these two provinces formerly composed a distinct state; but at present they are both under the sole sovereignty of prince Heraclius of the kakhettian dynasty. The state of Karduelia and Kakhetty borders northwards on the Kabarda, eastwards on Daghestan and Schirvan, southwards on the persian Armenia, and westwards on Immeretia. The residence is Teflis. Tzar Heraclius, who is celebrated for his bravery and other great qualities, as well as by the important part which he acted during the disturbances which agitated Persia after the death of Tamas Kuli-khan, submitted in the year 1783 to the russian empire, and voluntarily sacrificed an independence which he seemed to have secured by his exploits, but the advantages whereof were richly compensated by the protection he procured by this submission.

SECTION V.

Mandshures.

WE now proceed to the MANDSHURE swarms, comprising only two nations, the MANDSHURES or MANDSHU, and the TUNGUSES. Both nations are related by descent, as appears from their traditions, their language, and their bodily structure. The whole swarm together possesses extensive countries and deserts in eastern Siberia and in the northern Mongolia; the Mandshu are even still very powerful, as one of their princely families is in hereditary possession of the throne of China. Since this people can no longer be considered as inhabitants of Russia, without pretending to dive into their antient history, we will only touch upon those of its transactions and events which in some degree concern its relations to the Russian empire.

Ere the Russians entered Siberia, the Mandshu were in possession of all Dauria or the eastern Siberia from the Baikal quite to the Mongolian mountains, together with the regions adjacent to the Amoor and its collateral rivers. They were at that time divided into several stems, of which the DA-URIANS inhabited the parts about the Selenga and the upper Amoor, the DUS-CHARES dwelt between the Argoon and the Schilka,

Schilka, the ATSCHARES about the middle Amoor, and the GHILIAKS at the mouth of the Amoor on the coasts of the eastern ocean. — The daurian Mandshu, not waiting for the arrival of the Russians in their territories, retreated to the Amoor and into the empire of China. At the first russian expedition about the middle of the seventeenth century, the Daurians and Dutschares were subjects of the chinese emperor, who, as a native Mandshu, aided their flight, and afforded them protection. The Ghiliaks and Atschares subsisted then in a state of independence, and accepted the russian patronage without opposition. Their example was followed by considerable multitudes of the two other stems; but the greater part of them, by orders from the chinese government, were transported from the Amoor, of which the Russians had made themselves masters, farther towards China. Afterwards, at a peace concluded at Nertschinsk, the whole of the Amoor with all the Mandshures belonging to Russia were ceded to China; and at present the mountain-ridge Stannovoi Khrebet, which stretches from Dauria north-eastward between the rivers Lena and Amoor to the eastern ocean, forms the boundary betwixt the two empires. In the frontier-mountains themselves, however, are no Mandshures, but Tunguses, who are partly tributary

to the Chinese, partly to Russia, or live in complete independence.

The Mandshu, particularly the daurian, while they inhabited the modern Russia, were by no means an uncivilised people. According to their written accounts and traditions, they had a constitution composed of nomadic and civil parts, and adapted to their situation, their mode of life, and their various exigencies. They lived peaceably among themselves and with their neighbours, sedulously attending to agriculture, graziery, and even to mining. Traces are still seen, about the Barguzin and other rivers, of their gardens, orchards, and fields artfully laid out, and watered with artificial water-courses. The daurian mine-works on the banks of the Argoon, still famous under the name of the nertschinskian mines, as well as all Dauria, afford numerous proofs of the mineral labours of the antient Daurians.

That the TUNGUSES originally composed one people with the Mandshu, is apparent not only from the resemblance of features, manners, and customs, but also chiefly from the agreement of their languages. Indeed in the countries of the Mandshu are ruins and other antiquities, which are not met with among the Tunguses, but both the one and the other confess that they are not the works of their ancestors. Consequently, we

are

are to conclude that a nation lived there before these people, who were either driven out by them, or voluntarily withdrew; it is not improbable that these monuments were the work of the Niudsches, during the government of Kin.

The Tunguses call themselves *Ævœes*, probable from the supposed founder of their race; or, in the manner of most of the Siberian tribes, from the word which in their language signifies *men*. They are called Tunguses only by the Ostiaks of the Yenissey, and the Tartars *. The extensive deserts, in which they have now their nomadizing seats, reach from west to east from the Yenissey across the Lena as far as the Amoor and the Eastern-ocean. From south to north they keep between about the 53d and 65th degree of north latitude, and accordingly neither touch upon the Hungarian borders or the coasts of the Frozen-ocean. Being a very accommodating people, they have admitted into these their seats, Ostiaks, Samoyedes, and particularly Yakutans. The districts we have mentioned lie mostly in the government of Irkutsk;

* This appellative may perhaps be derived from *Tonyons*, the title of their princes; this name has obtained the superiority with the Russians, and of course with the other nations of Europe. The Tunguses are called, by the Mandshu, Solomi (protectors) or Orontschon (people with reindeer).

some few races, however, of the Tunguses are reckoned as belonging to the government of Tobolsk.

The first accounts the Russians obtained of these people was from the Ostiaks of the Yenisey; and since the year 1607 first Kozaks were sent from Mangassey against the Tunguses, to force them to submission. At that time many tungusian stems owned the paramount supremacy of the Burats who had shortly before been expelled from Mongolia. On occasion of the Russian attacks, the Tunguses displayed more courage than the other Siberiaks, and not till the latter half of the last century were they brought to that imperfect state of submission in which they are held at present. — By the enumeration of the year 1766 they consisted of 12,000 males; but besides these, distinct tungusian stems wander among the Siberian nations, who together amount to about 1700 yourts or families. Though it is one of the most numerous nations of Siberia, yet, by reason of their roaming way of life, but few stems of them can be accurately registered. — The Tunguses, who nomadize about the coasts of the Eastern-ocean, are known under the name of LAMUTES. Of these, in the aforesaid year, only about 400 men were inrolled to the payment of tribute.

SECTION VI.

Nations of uncertain Origin.

BESIDES the several nations we have named, who can be traced back to some certain primitive stock, there moreover dwell in the russian empire some NATIONS WHOSE ORIGIN IS UTTERLY UNCERTAIN, and who seem to stand in no relation with the branches that are known. All these, from particular resemblances, and from the geographical situation of their homesteads, may be reduced to two classes, one comprising the SAMOYEDIAN, and the other the EASTERN-SIBERIAN NATIONS.

i. The history and the origin of the SAMOYEDES is not much more known even among the people themselves, than by the Russians and the rest of Europe. Leading a nomadic life in bleak and savage deserts, without the arts of writing and chronology, they endeavour to save from oblivion the memory of their transactions and heros only by songs, which, perhaps with some truth for their foundation, are embellished with so many fabulous additions, that even this mode of tradition affords us no means of becoming acquainted with their antient state. When the

victorious Russians, in the progress of their conquests, came up to this people, they found them already out of their paternal, probably more southern, seats, of which they had much earlier been deprived by the Tartars, and no where in their peculiar condition; a great part of them having separated, on their flight, from their correlative stems. Far from adequately discriminating these nations and stems, the very names of them are either confounded or disfigured, or arbitrarily invented; and, even since their subjection, little or nothing has happened that might tend to the elucidation of these accidental perplexities. The cold and trackless wilds of the samoyede nations have never yet been trod by the foot of any inquisitive traveller; the collectors of the tribute and surveyors, from whom we might expect some sort of information, have naturally more in view their proper business and the advantages of traffic, than the collecting of historical accounts; and out of their territory individuals from these tribes are very seldom seen. — In spite of all these obstacles, the striking harmony of languages, as well as the great similarity in mode of life and bodily formation, evince the near relationship of the stems and nations which we now with reason class under the denomination of Samoyede.

The

The present home of the PROPER SAMOYEDES are the coasts of the Frozen-ocean, from about the 65th deg. of north lat. quite to the sea-shore. Nova Zemlia indeed is not inhabited by them, but eastward across the Yenissey extend the coasts on which they swarm up to the 75th deg. of latitude. In these regions, the coldest, rudest, and most desolate of all the earth, dwell the Samoyedes, solitary indeed and scattered, from the White-sea to the other side of the Yenissey, and almost up to the Lena, therefore both in Europe and in Siberia. They call themselves Nenetsch, persons, or Chosovo men. The origin of their usual appellative is uncertain.

Those on the western side of the Ural, or the EUROPEAN SAMOYEDES, were tributary to Russia so long ago as the year 1525, consequently long before the reduction of their Siberian relatives. The regions here over which they stray are about and between the rivers Meseh and Petschora, therefore in the governments of Archangel and Vologda, where they live independently, in a state of separation from other nations. — The SIBERIAN SAMOYEDES, on the eastern side of the uralian mountains, are in the government of Tobolsk, along the coasts of the Straights of Vaigat, about the exit of the Oby, between

the Oby and the Yenissey, and in the parts contiguous to the lower Lena. Collectively they are more numerous than the Ostiaks, but like them only singly and dispersed in the prodigious tracts of country occupied in common by them.

Among the nations that apparently stand in various degrees of affinity with the Samoyedes, are two kinds of OSTIAKS. Of the origin and import of this name an account has been already given under a former head *; where we likewise saw, that under this denomination three tribes were comprehended, namely: the Ostiaks of the Oby, of the Narym, and of the Yenissey. The first of these manifestly belong to the finnish hive; not entirely with the like conviction, we arrange the two last among the Samoyedes. — The NARYM OSTIAKS, who are also called Morafes, are about the upper parts of the Surgut, in the districts of the Oby quite to the Narym, and about the mouths of the rivers Ket and Tom. — The YENISSEY OSTIAKS, though they resemble the two other nations of that name in appellation and mode of life, but speak a language so entirely different from that of the Ostiaks, as well as from all the Siberian tongues, that they might

* See the article FINNS, vol. i. sect. 2.

be rather taken for races of a particular nation, though not the smallest indications of their origin has been hitherto discovered *. These dwell about the inferior Yenissey, near and between the Samoyedes. When the Russians, in the last century, had extended their conquests hither, these Ostiaks not only immediately submitted, but also assisted the Russians to subdue the neighbouring nations. In proportion to the dimensions of the ground they occupy, they are not numerous.

The following petty tribes, on account of their similarity in features, manner of life, and language, are with great justice classed with the Samoyedes: the KOIBALS, on the Yenissey; the SOYOTES and MUTORES, both in the sayane mountains; the TUBINZES, on the left shore of the Yenissey; the KAMATSCHINTZES or Kaimasches, round the source of the rivers Kana and Mana; the YURALES or Yurakes, between the Oby and the Yenissey; the KARAGASSES,

* Among the Tartars of Krasnoyarsk, the Asanes, or Ossanes, the Chotovtzes, and Schatka, the Arintzes speak this language, though in different dialects. They therefore are not Tartars, because they have intercourse with the Tartars, and, though following the same mode of life, have another language; probably they are a mingled remainder of the yenissey Ostiaks.

in the udinskoi circle, and a few still more inconsiderable remnants of nations.

2. The nations which we comprehend under the general head of EASTERN-SIBERIAN NATIONS are the Yukaghires, the Kamptschadales, the Koriaks, the Tschuktsches, and the inhabitants of the north-eastern Siberian-American Archipelago, the Kurillians, and the Aleutans. Of these several people, the Yukaghires have a certain resemblance with the Yakutes, the Tschuktsches with the northern Islanders, the Kamtschadales with some of the Kurillians, and the Koriaks form as it were the connecting link between the Tschuktsches and the Kamtschadales. Yet, after all, the variations of these nations are still greater than their points of resemblance; therefore, till we have more accurate historical accounts, which are here entirely wanting, and of obtaining which scarcely any hope can be entertained, they cannot be reduced to any common origin. For which reason we are only able here to rank them according to their geographical situation, and not by their supposed affinity.

The north-easternmost part of the terra firma of Siberia was known to the Russians in the latter half of the seventeenth century: the conquest of it, however, proceeded but slowly, from the innumerable obstacles they had to encounter.

Till

Till the year 1690 nothing was known of Kamtschatka, except what was told in vague reports: the possession of this country was entered upon in 1696. The Kurilly islands were discovered in 1710. In the year 1727 the maritime expeditions were begun under the command of captain Behring, which continued till the year 1741, and by which the north-eastern coasts of Siberia, the inland sea between Siberia and America, and even that continent, in part newly discovered, and partly accurately explored and ascertained. These countries and islands were afterwards visited by russian hunters * and merchants, and by degrees made tributary. Tschuktschi-nofs, or the promontory of Tschuktschi, and in general the region adjacent to the Anadyr, were earlier known than Kamtschatka, having been conquered in 1738. But, it being extremely difficult to retain the savage inhabitants of these wild and dreary regions in obedience, they have been abandoned from time to time to their independence.

The obstacles and difficulties arising from the great distance, the pathless regions and the rudeness of the inhabitants, have hitherto rendered a more particular knowledge of these nations nearly

* Promuifchlenniki.

unattainable. All that we know of them consists in some broken accounts collected and published either by passing mariners, or by unlettered hunters and merchants. Besides, but little information is to be expected of the origin and transactions of tribes who live without writing, and perhaps even without traditions.

The YUKAGHIRES occupy the northernmost parts of the territory of the Yakutes bordering on the Frozen-ocean, from the Yama to the Kolyma. They were known to the Russian conquerors as early as the Yakutes, but, owing to their wild and impassable deserts, could not be completely brought to subjection till the year 1639. They had never seen a horse, which nevertheless were found among the Yakutes, and therefore appear to have been for a great length of time confined to their cold, fenny, and mountainous districts. The whole people, at the revision before the last, paid taxes only for about 1000 heads; but it was so easy for them in their deserts to evade the payment, that their entire population may be computed at a much higher number.

The dreary, rocky, unfruitful mountain-ridges, which form the peninsula of Kamtschatka, have always in all probability, had their peculiar inhabitants:

bitants: namely, the Koriaks in the northern part opposite the continent, and the KAMTSCHADALES on the southern parts of the peninsula. These latter call themselves Itelmans, that is, inhabitants. The country has its name from the river Kamtschatka, which again was so called, it seems, from some brave warrior named Konfata. The origin and the fates and fortunes of the Kamtschadales are utterly unknown. By their language, mode of life, and bodily formation, they may be taken to be a distinct people, related with some neighbouring islanders. Their number, according to the enumeration of 1760, amounts to about 3000 males; but it may be admitted to be really three or four times larger.

The KORIAKS probably have their name from the word Kora, which in their language signifies a rein-deer. They dwell about the northern part of the Penshinskoi-gulf and in the north of Kamtschatka, near and among the Kamtschadales, Tunguses, Lamutes, and Tschuktsches. The circumstance that they do not appear in the history of their southern neighbours, and still more the great likeness they bear to many islanders of the Eastern-ocean, and even with the nearest Americans beyond the straights, gives room to suppose that they, and for the same reasons the Tschuktsches, are the primitive pos-

seffors of these coasts, who either came over from the continent of America, or were divided by the probable infraction of the sea, and the consequent separation of the two quarters of the world. In numbers the Koriaks are about equal to the Kamtschadales.

The TSCHUKTSCHES occupy the north-eastern point of Siberia towards the Frozen-ocean and the Eastern-ocean, which is called the Tschuktschychape, and have in all respects so much similarity with the Koriaks, that one might easily be tempted to take the two nations for relational stems. They may be computed at 4000 bows.

The KURILLIANS are the inhabitants of the islands, named after them, in the Eastern-ocean. They bear not all the same appellation, and likewise differ much in language and manner of life; some verging more upon the Japanese, and others on the Kamtschadales. In the year 1766 all the inhabitants of these islands tributary to the russian empire were registered at 262 heads.

The ALEUTANS, lastly, inhabit the chain of islands denominated from them, extending from Kamtschatka north-eastwards to the continent of America. In proportion to the dimensions of their islands they are tolerably numerous, and at present are mostly subject to the tribute.

SECTION VII.

Dispersed Bands of European and Asiatic Nations.

THE last Section of this classification comprises the several BODIES OF EUROPEAN AND ASIATIC NATIONS DISPERSED IN VARIOUS PARTS OF THE EMPIRE. The number of them all together is indeed very considerable; but each distinct nation is not sufficiently numerous for being here allowed a separate place. Besides, the majority of them are only emigrated colonies from larger nations; who have voluntarily settled on a variety of occasions and in different ways in the several provinces of the russian empire. We here pass over at once the colonies before-named, as enough has been said concerning them.

Of all the european nations that fall under this head, none is more numerous than the GERMAN. In the governments of Riga, Reval, and Courland, they form the most considerable though not the most numerous part of the inhabitants. The nobility in these provinces consist mostly of the descendants of the teutonic knights, who, at the commencement of the thirteenth century, conquered these countries for themselves

selves and the church, and made the natives their slaves. Even the burghers and free people, or the greater part of the townsmen, are Germans, who have gradually, since the discovery of Livonia resorted thither and settled. Their number is very considerable, and though it be greatly exceeded by that of the proper natives, the Lettes and the Esthonians, yet the german language may be considered as predominant in those governments. According to a probable calculation, founded on the last enumeration, the Germans residing in the government of Riga amount to 30,000, and those in that of Reval to 15,000; in Courland they are probably still more numerous. Both in Mosco and in St. Pétersburg they live by thousands; in the latter alone they are known to be upwards of 17,000. Even in the government of that city, as well as in that of Vyborg, they form no inconsiderable part of the nobility and citizens. As colonists, properly so called, or countrymen, many thousand german families came in 1763 into the governments of St. Petersburg, Saratof, Voronetch, and Tschernigof, as settlers, the number of whom since the year 1783 is much increased by new settlements in the government of Ekatarinoflas, and in the province of Taurida. All these and the multitude of such as live separately
about

about the empire, taken together, may probably far exceed 100,000.

Of the other european nations, there are only detached colonies, especially in the large towns. In the governments of Vyborg and Reval, and on some of the islands of the Baltic, a number of the inhabitants are SWEDES, though not to a considerable amount. The islands Vorms and Rugen in the Baltic are partly inhabited by DANES. These, however, as well as people from the other european nations, are most numerous in Mosco and St. Petersburg, and in some of the great towns of the empire. In most of the sea-ports are ENGLISHMEN, who, however, seldom fix there, but as soon as their affairs will permit, return to their native country.

FRENCH are dispersed in considerable numbers over the whole empire; the plan lately devised for establishing a colony of emigrants in the southern governments, has not hitherto been put into execution. Besides the ITALIANS we meet with in the capital towns, there are also in the province of Taurida some remains of that people, the descendants of those who settled there during the period that the Genoese were in possession of the peninsula.

GREEKS are in Little-Russia, at Neshin, in the government of Tschernigof, in that of Ekatarin-

nosslaf, and in Taurida, where they form in some measure respectable colonies. Their number in the Krimea was formerly very considerable; but in the year 1778 the inhabitants of the Krimea, who were of the greek religion, applied by a rescript subscribed by the metropolitans of Gothia and Keffa to the empress, requesting to be admitted as subjects of the russian empire, which was granted by a manifesto in the year 1779. The empress defrayed the expences of their transport from the Krim, and assigned to them a considerable tract of country bordering on the Solonoya and the sea of Azof: the merchants, however, and the trading part of the colony were sent to the newly-erected towns of Ekatarinosslaf and Mariupol. After the Russians had taken possession of the Krim, the Greeks for the most part went thither again. — In the government of Ekatarinosslaf are also ALBANIANS, MOLDAVIANS, VALAKHIANS, and ARNAUTS, though in no great numbers.

The OTTOMAN TURKS, who, either by the fortune of war, or by the capture of particular cities and provinces, are become subjects of the russian empire, have for the greater part dispersed; they no where form what may be properly called colonies, yet they are found together in small numbers at Orenburg, in the former Otchakof-steppe,

steppe, and in other places. — In the districts of Astrakhan and Orenburg are found many PERSIANS; also on the Kama there is a colony of Persians and ARABS. — The ARMENIANS are particularly numerous in the towns of Orenburg, Kisljar, Mosdok, St. Petersburg, and Mosco; but especially in the governments of Caucasus and Ekatarinossaf, where they compose a colony consisting of some thousands. The town Nachitschevan, on the Don, is almost entirely inhabited by them. They were formerly, next to the Tartars, the most numerous in the Krim; but a great part of them in the year 1779 withdrew with the krimean Greeks into Russia. — In Astrakhan and Kisljar are likewise settlements of INDIANS, who partly originate from Hindostan, and partly from the province of Multan.

To conclude; there are in Russia very considerable colonies of the two wandering nations, who are every where at home, and have no where any country, namely Jews and Gypsies. The JEWS are in great numbers throughout the polish provinces which now belong to the russian empire; and they are seen in pretty strong bodies on the borders of the neighbouring governments: whereas in the rest of Russia they are found very sparingly, and in most parts not at all. Taurida,

however, is an exception to this, where they are partly fixed as antient inhabitants. At the time when the Chazares were masters of the Krimea, even some of their sovereigns, according to their traditions, professed the religion of Moses. — The GYPSIES are particularly in the provinces of both Great and Little Russia, where they stroll about in large companies.

FROM this contracted view, in which some few other petty tribes are entirely overlooked, it appears that the inhabitants of the russian empire form at least EIGHTY DISTINCT NATIONS, as well in their lineage as in their manners and their language essentially different from each other *. — To see so extraordinary a multitude of nations and tribes united in one body-politic is certainly a curious phænomenon, of which we should look in vain for another example in the history of the world. This mingled mass of people, so extremely numerous, presents a spectacle which must be highly interesting to every reflecting observer. Its physical, civil, and moral

* In this enumeration, the collateral branches of the Russians, Kalmuks, and Tartars, as well as the relative tribes of the Ostiaks of the Yenissey, are not included.

state forms a grand and instructive picture, in which are seen all the modifications whereof this state, by the most various causes and operations, is susceptible: a commentary on the history of mankind, illustrative of the gradual development of civilization by the most lively and striking example. — On the whole scale of human nature, from the rude and brutal condition to the summit of sensible and intellectual refinement, there is scarcely a remarkable transition which may not be matched from the foregoing list. Here are seen nations of HUNTERS and FISHERS, roaming about their forests, without permanent habitations, defying all dangers and indifferent to the accommodations of life, who have scarcely any notion of property, who feed upon raw flesh and unprepared fruits, and wrap themselves in the skins of the beasts with which they contend for their existence, and by which they preserve their lives. — Near to these we find PASTORAL nations, obtaining their nourishment, their clothing, and even a sort of affluence solely from their flocks and herds; living with them in moveable tents on everlasting perambulations, and passing their days in a patriarchal simplicity of manners, generally without the art of writing, and without the knowledge and use of money. — Again we behold

nations, who devote themselves to the labours of AGRICULTURE, carrying on their various occupations, one while incomplete and directed to single objects, at another on a general scale and with ingenuity and industry. We observe the progress of culture, in regions where the virgin earth, the first time for thousands of years, opens her bosom to the strange hand of the countryman; and, where instead of temporary huts of felt, houses and villages arise to our view. — With equal surprise we see villages changed into towns, and houses into palaces, where PRODUCTIVE INDUSTRY has erected her manufactories, and where diligence collects the products of the distant parts of the world for traffic.

As all the gradations of living are found among the inhabitants of the russian empire, so we see also examples of all the modifications of CIVIL CONSTITUTION. Among the Tschuktsches and the inhabitants of the Eastern-isles we scarcely find an idea of social connection; among other nations in the east of Siberia we perceive among the Laplanders, in the FAMILY-GOVERNMENT of fathers and elders, the first rude sketch of monarchy; but far more considerable is the number of those who divide themselves into STEMS and HORDES, which are again parted
into

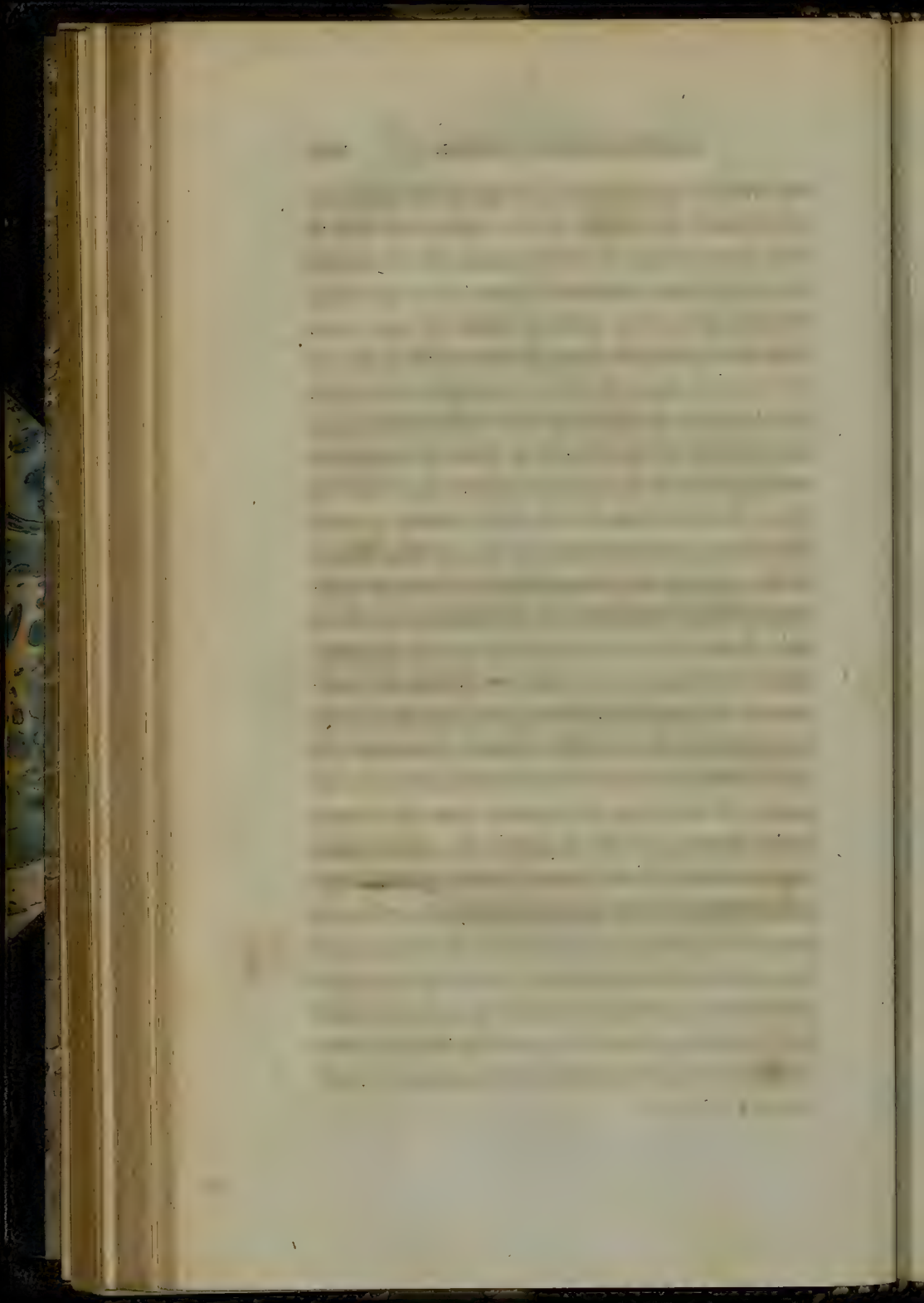
into races. A pure DEMOCRACY is discernible in the generality of the branches of Kozaks; while the Kalmuks and Kirghises have a mixed REPUBLICAN MONARCHY. Not less numerous are the corruptions of these several forms of government, which all at last dissolve into the elements of UNLIMITED MONARCHY. — Some nations have a FAMILY-NOBILITY hereditary in their offspring; while others have only a PERSONAL-NOBILITY, founded on the respectability of age, on the influence of wealth, or on the brilliancy of personal talents. — Of all the modifications of civil constitution none is perhaps so singular as the military democracy of the Kozaks, the essence and aim of which is war, and even of which we have been witnesses of a corruption, in its denying the other half of the human race all civil and domestic community.

Not less edifying and diversified is the view of the RELIGIOUS IDEAS AND FORMS OF WORSHIP which these nations have adopted for the service and the honour of the Supreme Being. We find in the Russian empire not only the generality of the known parties and sects of the CHRISTIAN faith, but the JEWISH, the MOHAMMEDAN, the LAMA, and the SCHAMANE religions have here their numerous votaries. — From the most monstrous POLYTHEISM to the

total unacquaintance with any idea of a supreme intelligence, there are innumerable turnings in which the human intellect may stray, and the religious opinions of the savage and half-savage tribes of the russian empire present us with no inconsiderable a supplement to the history of these aberrations.

Great as the difference is between the modes of life, constitutions, and religions of the inhabitants of the russian empire, so motley and various is also the picture of their PHYSICAL CONDITION, their MANNERS, CUSTOMS, DRESSES, DWELLINGS, UTENSILS, and WEAPONS. What a contrast between the flat, broad, beardless physiognomy and the yellow figure-painted skin of the east-iberian nations, and between the european form and complexion of the genuine russian stems! What a distance from the earth-holes of the Samoyedes to the palaces of the residence, from the needle-work of fish-bones and sinews to the weaving of tapestry, from the sling and the arrow to the fire-arms of the modern art of war in Europe! — If the view of such a great and striking diversity in all the concerns of mankind, and in all the displays of their activity afford instructive and entertaining matter for reflection, our astonishment is not less excited by the consideration, that this prodigi-

ous mass of people can be kept in the most unconditional submission to the unlimited will of one ruler, and the confluence of all forms of government, however great their diversity, maintained in the general form of one state. The key to this singular phenomenon is to be drawn from the political and religious toleration which marks the spirit of the russian monarchy. In no state of the world is there a completer uniformity and unity of administration, but no where is the physical and moral variety greater than here. Forbearance in all regards, which do not oppose the being and aim of the government, the omnipotence of the unlimited will is only shewn where the direction of all the energies is necessary to one end. — Thus, the individuals of mankind have a sphere in which they may range till, by the gradual approach to civilization, from the several stems of this extensive state shall be formed one great and happy nation; a period which the philosopher expects, and which Catharine the legislatrix has accelerated by more than a century.



V I E W
OF THE
RUSSIAN EMPIRE.

B O O K III.

WE have been contemplating the inhabitants of the russian empire according to their several descents: we will now inquire into their PHYSICAL STATE. — From the great diversity which the mixture of so many nations, considered even in this point of view, produces, it will be necessary to assign certain bounds to the contents of this division of our work, and to treat the subjects of it in a particular order. Let us therefore first examine the present state of the amount of the people and the population, as well in regard to the whole empire, as to the particular parts of it; then turn our eyes upon the public institutions which have in view the preservation and increase of the population; and lastly endeavour to point out the physical characteristics of the inhabitants according to their primary descents.

SECTION I.

Population of the Russian Empire.

DISTINGUISHING the term *populousness* from *population*, we understand by the former the bare number of the inhabitants of a country, by the latter; on the other hand, the relation it bears to the superficies of the ground on which they dwell. This explanation being premised, no doubt can be entertained that the russian empire, which in regard to its superficial contents is exceeded by no country in the world, must also, in regard to the number of its people, be reckoned among the most powerful. The knowledge of this important subject is founded on the numberments, or revisions, as they are styled in Russia, which were first set on foot by Peter the great in the year 1723, and which have since been repeated at the distance of every twenty years. The occasion of these enumerations was the collection of the head-money, or the personal tax which every male belonging to the class of either boors or burghers is bound annually to pay, and which has continued to be the main object of these revisions to the present day. Agreeably to this end, therefore, they neither extend through all the ranks

ranks nor all the tribes of the empire; the nobility, the clergy, the whole military and civil establishment, the court establishment, the schools and seminaries; the greater part of the nomadic nations—as well as the whole female sex are excluded. On the other hand, in the register of the revision appear all the males of the classes subject to the poll-tax, the suckling as well as the superannuated old man, and neither the births nor the deaths are brought into the account till the succeeding enumeration. At the first revisions were omitted not only the provinces of Livonia and Little-Russia, which at that time paid no head-money, and as the management of that business was given to commissaries who had more in view their private interest than the truth of the estimate, it is not surprising if their statements generally proved short of what the real number of the people might be.

At the first revision in the year 1723 (which, however, as well as some of the following, were never entirely finished in one year) the persons subject to the tax were given in at 5,794,928. In this statement are comprised the boors working in the mines in the year 1735; but all the provinces and ranks which at that time were not subjected to the head-money were omitted.

At

At the second revision, in 1743, there were found 6,643,335, and at the third 7,363,348; which sum, if we double it for the female sex, and join them with the later enumerations in the provinces not subject to the poll-tax, a total will arise of about 20,000,000 of persons which the russian empire may have contained about the year 1763 in the enumerated classes*.

A very different and far juster result proceeds from the fourth revision, which was made in the year 1783 on better principles and with greater accuracy. The main object, to learn the number of the taxable people, was still the basis of this enumeration, but it was also extended over all the provinces then subject to the russian sceptre†, including the female sex, and several ranks and tribes till then omitted; the estimates were not, as before, entrusted to particular revisors, but were made out by the town-magistrates, the noblemen, the presidents and elders of the crown-boors, in which they were greatly assisted by the union of the former large governments

* The same amount is given by Schloetzer for the same time, in his book on the innoxiousness of the small-pox in Russia, p. 132, but he seems to have included all the classes of people, numbered and unnumbered.

† Among which remains hitherto unnumbered, the first acquisition from Poland of the year 1773, containing 1,226,966 inhabitants.

and

and the newly-instituted viceroyalty-constitution; the whole enumeration was completed in one half year, (from the end of the year 1781 to July 1782,) and only the governments of Kolhyvan, Tobolsk, and Irkutsk, on account of their being so vast and so remote, were left till January 1783; the statements were ordered to be made out according to prescribed schedules of a tabulary form, in which regard was had to several political matters; at the same time they were directed to be made with the utmost accuracy, and the penalties were very severe in cases of concealment or evasion *. By the lists of that revision, there were found to be, in the forty-one viceroyalties of which Russia at that time consisted, of male inhabitants:

Merchants	107,408
Burghers	293,793
Odnodvortzi and free country-	
men	773,656
Exempt from taxes	310,830
Crown-boors	4,674,603
Private-boors	6,678,239

Together 12,838,529

* The imperial manifesto and decree of the senate concerning the fourth revision, in the St. Petersburgische Journal, of the year 1781, tom. iv. p. 192.

The number of females was only known of some governments; if we double the above amount for them, we obtain in the enumerated classes of the said one-and-forty viceroyalties, a total of 25,677,000 persons of both sexes: — The authenticity of these statements can only be liable to one doubt, namely, that the real number of the people may be *greater* than by the enumerations it appears to be: for, as every man marked in the revision-lists actually pays his tax, it is not to be conceived that these lists make the population to be larger, though it may easily be supposable that they make it smaller than in fact it is, because concealment is attended with such a material advantage.

Thus far we are enabled to ground the calculation of the number of the people on actual enumerations; but for the state of the unnumbered classes, and for the increase of the population, as well by the great acquisitions since the year 1783, as by the very considerable surplus of the births, and the numerous accessions of foreign colonists, we have only probable and partly-authenticated data to proceed upon, as the result of the fifth revision, in 1796, if it be published, is not yet come to hand. In the mean time, the following calculation, made with the greatest

greatest nicety of examination, may well be admitted to supply that defect.

By the revision of 1783, there were
in the said 41 governments, computing the female sex as equal to the male, of registered persons - 25,677,000

The amount of the Kozaks of the Don and the Euxine, according to the most authentic private accounts, at least - - - - - 220,000

For the unnumbered tribes and classes at the time of the fourth revision, we cannot, without the highest improbability, allow less than - - - - - 1,500,000

Consequently, the Russian empire, in the year 1783, might have inhabitants amounting all together to 27,397,000

According to the results deduced from experiments and observations on the fruitfulness and mortality in Russia, this mass must of itself have increased annually more than half a million. If, in order to keep as far as possible from all exaggeration, we deduct the half of this surplus of births, to allow for the diminution it may have

suffered by an extraordinary mortality, as by war; there remains for every year an increase of 25,000 new citizens, which, exclusively of all ascending proportion, in 12 years makes a sum total of - - - - - 3,000,000

The new acquisitions since the year 1783, or the present nine vice-royalties of Taurida, Minsk, Bratslau, Vofnesensk, Podolia, Volhynia, Courland, Vilna, and Slonim, contain, according to a legitimated statement already mentioned * - 5,755,000

Consequently, we may admit, by the most moderate estimate †, the population of the russian empire at present to be - - - - - 36,152,000
or in a round sum thirty-six millions of persons.

Of

* See vol. i. p. 327. note.

† That the reader may be enabled to judge for himself of the fairness of this statement, we will here bring together some particulars.

The land and sea forces, with the militia, or the military commandos of the several governments, including wives and children, can scarcely be set down at a lower number than - - - - - 800,000

According

Of this prodigious mass the greater part by far belongs to european Russia. The five governments

According to the establishment of the viceroalties every government consisting of ten circles has about 600 civil-officers, without reckoning the host of chancery-placemen and scribes, and besides the watchmen, money-tellers, couriers, &c. If we reckon the said 41 viceroalties on an average at 10 circles each (most of them have from 12 to 15) and the number of all the officers and servants at only 1000 persons; tripling this sum for such as are married and their families, it yields - - - - - 120,000

The custom-house officers, strand-surveyors, strand and frontier riders, postmen, &c. with wives and children, we will only compute at - - - - - 80,000

The amount of the russian clergy is commonly estimated at 68,000 persons, of whom the generality are married secular priests. Including their families we may properly give this class at 200,000

These few heads therefore, by the lowest estimate, already produce - - - - - 1,200,000

persons; and yet we have omitted the whole nobility, the court establishment, the imperial colleges, the academies, schools, and seminaries of education, the foreigners, the major part of the inhabitants of Mosco and St. Petersburg; here are also wanting the wandering or uncivilized tribes, the vagabonds and fugitives, &c. as well as the prisoners and criminals condemned to the public works, the number of whom would be incredibly large, if it were not at times diminished by manifestos of grace. — That our statement

ments of Perm, Ufa, Kolhyvan, Tobolsk, and Irkutsk, comprehended under the general name of Siberia, contain all together, according to the revision-lists, only 2,215,000, or, with the unnumbered classes and tribes, perhaps above three millions and a half of inhabitants. The population of the european part is therefore about fourteen times greater; and the russian empire, which in regard to its superficial contents mostly belongs to Asia, must in regard to its population be reckoned as belonging to Europe.

On the scale of the population of the european states, Russia holds the second place, having in this respect only the ottoman empire above it, which is usually admitted to have 49 millions of

is not too high, if we reckon all these descriptions at 300,000, will be evident from the following comparison. In the 41 governments of the russian empire no more than 12 of them have delivered in any near statement of the female sex or the exempted classes, and though even of these 12 estimates not one is entirely complete, yet the difference amounts to upwards of 1,607,000 persons, as the sum of the inhabitants of all the 41 governments, by the revision-lists, is only 25,677,000, but according to the statistic tables it is set down at 27,284,000. How much more considerable would not this difference be if we had only from all the governments *such* data, and how entirely different would the result appear, if it could be made out of *all* the classes and with the utmost accuracy.

inhabit-

inhabitants, whereof 8 millions are stated to be in Europe, 36 in Asia, and 5 in Africa. Excluding the parts of both these countries which lie out of Europe from this comparison, it will follow that Russia has the largest population of all the states of Europe. — The countries which come nearest to the Russian empire in this regard, are the Germanic states, which may be admitted at 26 millions; France, to which we may still, notwithstanding the havoc brought on by various means since the revolution, allow 25 millions; and the states of Austria, which may be taken at about an equal number. Of the neighbouring states whose relative interests are of importance to Russia, Prussia and Sweden are the most remarkable. The former, with its lately acquired possessions in Poland and the circle of Franconia, has about the fourth; the latter the eleventh part of the population of the Russian empire.

The relative proportion of the population in the several governments varies very much. According to the precept that was issued concerning the erection of them, each was to contain not more than between 3 and 400,000 males; but, as by reason of a difference in local circumstances, it was found inconvenient to adhere strictly to that injunction, many governments obtained at their very first erection, some a larger and some a smaller num-

ber of persons; and this inequality has since been considerably augmented by the natural increase, and by new comers on one hand, and emigrations on the other. The most populous government is at present that of Mosco, which, including the metropolis, contains upwards of 1,139,000 persons; the lowest population is that of the province of Taurida, which is computed to have about 150,000 inhabitants. — Several of these governments, in regard to population, may vie with foreign kingdoms; as the government of Mosco, which is on a level with Denmark; or that of Caucasus, which (though only the 37th in the gradation of the several governments) is equal with Sardinia.

Although the bare knowledge of the number of people in a state affords very remarkable and fruitful results, yet it is properly the proportion of this mass to the extent of the country inhabited by them, by which any determinate notion of the intensive power and culture of it can be obtained. The Russian empire, which, from its colossal mass of people, is at the head of all the European states, takes, in regard to its *populoufness*, but a very subordinate place. Without pretending to bring it into comparison with Sweden, poor as it is in people, which reckons about 220 inhabitants to every square geographical mile,

mile, the russian empire has (according to the above stated proportions of the superficial contents with the population) only about 109 on an equal space.

In a state, however, of so prodigious a magnitude, and containing so many tracts of country entirely uninhabited or uninhabitable, such a general comparison as this leads to very unsafe or totally false conclusions. The bare distinction of the european from the asiatic Russia yields a very different result: the former having a population of 405, the latter of 11 persons to a square mile. On pursuing this distinction farther, by comparing the governments with each other, the product will be, that of 45 of them, (the five newly acquired not reckoned,) 8 contain below 100; 9 contain from 100 to 500; 17 from 500 to 1000; 7 from 1000 to 1500; 3 from 1500 to 2000, and only 1 above 2000 inhabitants on a square mile. This last honourable precedence is held by the government of Mosco, which (including the metropolis) numbers 2403 persons on the aforesaid superficies. To the second class belong the governments of Kaluga, Tula, and Tschernigof, and to the third, Riasan, Kursk, Kief, Orel, Kharkof, Yaroslaf, and Novgorod-Sieverk. The sixth and poorest class comprises, with the countries of the Kozaks,

especially the north-european and Siberian deserts; and here the degree of population falls so low, that of the governments of Tobolsk and Irkutsk, the former has but 7, and the latter only 3 persons on every square geographical mile. However, we must not forget to remark, that it is exactly in these countries that the unregistered tribes are the most numerous. — Moreover, these statements should be considerably heightened throughout, to bring them nearer to the truth, as neither all the classes of people, nor the increase of the population since 1783, are accounted for in them.

The most populous district of the Russian empire is, therefore, the tract of country between the 49th and 58th degree of north lat.; farther to the north and to the south, as well as eastwards beyond the 65th degree of longit. this richness in people is continually decreasing. And yet even that happy tract of country, small as it is in extent proportionately with the enormous magnitude of the empire, is not to be compared to the population of other states, though even far behind it in regard to naturally favourable circumstances. If Russia possessed only in its best and most fertile provinces a generally equal population with the governments of Kaluga, Tula, and Tschernigof; in that case

the european part of it alone would have greatly above a hundred million of inhabitants.

Nothing seems at first sight more striking, than this deficiency of people in a country that possesses an inexhaustible and partly still unemployed store of all the material necessities of life; where the countryman, at least in the inland provinces, may use all the treasures of nature without limitation; and where the public taxes are so moderate and so uniformly distributed. This apparent contradiction may, however, be very easily explained by affording some attention to the following considerations.

The degree of population to which any country can attain depends equally on the natural quality of the soil and climate, and on the industry of the inhabitants. Where these circumstances with their concomitants exist in the highest perfection, the population must naturally attain to the highest degree: but rarely as this is the happy lot of small detached provinces, so impossible is it to be the case in all the parts of a large dominion. The russian empire comprehends within its circuit prodigious tracts of country, which on account of their rude climate are utterly uninhabitable; it contains, even in its best climates, districts which, by reason of the total failure of wood and water, for ever defeat all attempts that
are

are made to render them habitable; in other provinces the industry of the people is so little favoured by nature, that the want of provisions is the cause of emigrations. These regions then are not to be accused of a defect of people, but may rather be said to be proportionately very well stocked, since, according to circumstances, no more people could live there than actually do. — But that even in the fertile provinces the population is but moderate in comparison with other european states, is to be explained from the following arguments: first, from the species of employment from which the inhabitants draw their support. A country, whose industry is employed in working up raw materials, can maintain more people than another, where the whole profit arises from the industry exerted in raising the natural products. The inhabitants of the russian empire derive their chief subsistence only from the latter; and even in this there are variations which have a powerful influence on the population. In the regions where the nomadic nations devote themselves exclusively to the chase, the fishery, and the breeding of cattle, the population can never, in the nature of things, attain to the same degree as with the Russians who pursue agriculture. — Again, if we bring into the account the numerous colonies which this better

part

part of the russian empire has produced, and still daily produces for the enormous wastes of Siberia, and in general for all the possessions acquired since the sixteenth century, we may justly be amazed that the population of the middle of Russia proper does not fall far lower.

These considerations, which, were we to prosecute at length, would lead us too far, furnish us likewise with a standard by which we may measure the progress of population for the future. It will and must increase in the same ratio in which the industry and diligence of the nation enlarges and refines. The more agriculture spreads among the nomadic people of the steppes, the more the establishments for working-up the native raw products multiply, the more alert the industry in the newly-erected towns, and the more quick the inward and outward circulation of the present riches of the country, — so much the more numerous will also the population be. The superfluity of people will at length overflow from the plentiful regions into the deserts, in order to gain from parsimonious nature, by increased exertion, those bounties which, though withheld, are never entirely refused to industry and perseverance.

Distant as the population of the russian empire at present may be from so high a pitch,
certain

certain it is that it is continually approximating it in an ascending ratio. This is proved by that political arithmetic which examines the advancement of population by the laws of nature, and compares it with the data which the government of every country presents for that purpose.

It is a known fact, that the fruitfulness and the mortality of the inhabitants of all countries observe a certain relative rule, which is in proportion to the influences upon it produced by physical, moral, and political causes. From the investigations that have been made on this subject, it is plain that the actual population every where, if no unnatural obstacle intervene, neither declines nor stands still, but must go on augmenting. The results which have been drawn from innumerable concordant observations, yield the following general mean-proportion by which the progress of population, taken on the whole, proceeds: that, namely, of 36 persons annually one dies, and that to 10 deaths on an average, ordinary years set off against epidemical, 12 or 13 persons are born. Wherever the progress of population deviates from this rule, either very advantageous or very detrimental circumstances must operate. Hence we see how important and instructive such investigations, applied to particular countries may be, as well for the political

tical knowledge of it, as for the administration itself. We learn from them not only the influence of the natural quality of the country on the propagation, longevity, and mortality of the inhabitants; but they not unfrequently detect some latent evils of a moral or political nature, the noxious effects whereof might otherwise long lie concealed even from the most vigilant government.

The ground-work of these investigations are the lists of marriages, births, and deaths, on the accurate and careful construction of which the credibility and the practical utility of the calculations and conclusions entirely depend. In Russia such lists are indeed annually made out and delivered to the proper offices, but they are so defective, and the use that is made of them so confined, that neither the private inquirer nor the administration have hitherto been able to derive the least utility from them.

The author of this beneficial practice was the emperor Peter the great, who, so long ago as the year 1722, (a time when very few countries had as yet adopted that method,) by an article of the supplement to his new ecclesiastical regulations, ordained that the clergy should deliver to their archbishops every four months an account of the number of the births and deaths in
their

their several parishes. This command was, two years afterwards, again enforced and enlarged, accompanied with prescribed forms of the manner in which these tables were to be drawn up. In the year 1726 an order was issued directed to the clergy to transmit duplicates of these lists to the synod and to the college of war, which departments were to make out from them a general table, and lay it before the monarch. — With the reign of Catharine the second a new epocha began, as in many other matters, so also as to the political arithmetic of Russia. The late M. Busching, being then preacher at one of the lutheran churches in St. Petersburg, began about that period to collect, and in the year 1764 to have printed lists of the births and deaths of the foreign congregations of that city. About the same time, at the instigation of professor Schloetzer, then at St. Peterburg, and the late privy counsellor Taubert, all the congregations of the residence were enjoined to prepare lists of their marriages, births, and deaths, in tables after a stated form, and send them to the academy of sciences; like orders were afterwards issued to the german governments, directed to the several consistories to deliver their accounts to the magistracy of the place. The last remarkable step in this business was effected by the

the patriotic example of lieutenant-general count Sievers, who in the year 1768, being governor of Novgorod, caused yearly lists to be made out of the betrothings, births, and deaths, in his government, and transmitted them to the senate; whereupon the then general-procureur, prince Vaïseïnskoy, ordered by writ all the governors throughout the empire to procure similar lists, and send them to the senate*.

This method then has subsisted in Russia upwards of seventy years. The benefit arising from it during this long period has been, however, proportionately but very insignificant, which partly proceeds from the incomplete construction of the tables, and partly from the negligent use that appears to be made of them. All the lists, those of St. Petersburg excepted, have very material chasms; in the deaths of the female sex the age is seldom noted; the diseases and casualties are neither completely inserted nor scientifically classified. The direction of these lists is indeed committed to the clergy; but whether they are made out by them every where with due precision, and whether many particulars, especially in the rubrics of the bills of mortality, may not be unknown even to the priests, is

* Hermann's Beytrage, vol. ii. p. 1.—Schloetzer von der unschadlichkeit der pokken in Rußland, und von Rußlands bevölkerung überhaupt, p. 65 und 144.

liable to more than ordinary doubt. — Notwithstanding all these defects, however, the tables have their proportionate use if but industriously employed, and with attention to practical application. The senate receives them according to the governments, which undoubtedly is the best method for enabling them to be consolidated, as the revision-lists are likewise composed by governments and their circles. The synod obtains them according to eparchies, but only of the professors of the russian church; they are in like manner communicated to the college of war, which principally pays attention to the male sex. The academy receives only the lists of the city of St. Petersburg, but these probably more complete and accurate than they are elsewhere kept; this department is accordingly the only one that has hitherto made an adequate public use of them. The public is indebted to this learned society, besides the forementioned paper of professor Schlotzter's, for two excellent dissertations*, from which, particularly the

* *Essai sur les tables des mariages, &c. de St. Pétersbourg, depuis 1764—1780, par M. Krafft. Acta acad. Petrop. ann. 1782, pars i. — Mémoire i. depuis 1781—1785. Nova acta, tom. iv. — Mémoire iii. depuis 1786—1790. Nova acta, tom. viii. — Mémoire sur les naissances, mariages et morts dans quelques provinces et villes de la Russie, par M. Hermann, Nova acta, tom. iv.*

former, we shall select the necessary directions in our investigations on the same subject.

The lists which we may here take for the ground to proceed upon, are indeed only of one single year (1793), but they extend over nine eparchies, which, with the government of Riga, the particular tables whereof are now lying before us, comprehend together fifteen governments, which, in regard to their situation, their physical properties, and their civilization, are extremely various, and therefore present very different, and thereby the more remarkable results *. According to these data we will inquire into the particular relations of fruitfulness and mortality, without insisting on the premises, the dryness of which would be wearisome to the generality of readers, and which may be consulted by the curious in the sources to which we refer.

* Namely, the governments of Tula, Mosco, Kostroma, Vologda, Nishney-Novgorod, Riasan, Yaroslaf, Viatka, Perme, Tambof, Pensa, Saratof, Kazan, Simbirsk, and Riga. Six of these governments lie in the northern, the rest in the middle tract, and they all belong to european Russia. According to the forementioned classes of population two of them are to be reckoned to the first, as many to the second, six to the third, four to the fourth, and one to the last.

All increment in people depends on the proportion of fertility and mortality, from whence proceeds the superiority of the births to the deaths or the progress of population. In order to judge of the FERTILITY of the inhabitants of a country, we should know how many marriages are contracted annually among the whole number of the people there, how many children we may venture to allow to every new marriage, and what proportion the births bear to the living. — The first question is only to be answered indefinitely in general terms, it being well known that in cities and towns fewer people marry than in the country. In the said fifteen governments the proportion of the marriages to the living was on an average as 1 to 92, that is, among 92 persons one marriage was contracted or of 46 people one married. This proportion is extremely favourable to population; in Sweden, for example, it is computed that during a period of fourteen years among 110, in Denmark among 115, and in Norway even among 130 persons, only one marriage takes place. In the cities and great towns of the empire naturally it cannot be so advantageous, as there the introduction of luxury and the disproportion of the two sexes are difficulties in the way

way of marriage; thus at St. Petersburg of 70 persons annually one marries.

To 100 new-contracted marriages, we are to reckon, according to our lists, upon an average 362 children. This is about the mean proportion admitted for the whole country, where it is usual to reckon 4 children to a marriage *. This fertility, however, is not very great: in Sweden, for example, 100 marriages yield 410, in the prussian territories 468, in Silesia 503 children. Even in certain districts and towns of the russian empire this proportion is more favourable to population: in St. Petersburg, for instance, to 100 marriages are computed 429 children.

The proportion of the births to the living is in general as 1 to 26, or of 26 living persons one is born. In large towns this proportion is admitted as 1 to 30, in smaller as 1 to 24, and in the country as 1 to 22; the mean proportion is, therefore, as 1 to 27, and it is seen how very near the result of our lists comes to it. On the whole this fertility is considerable enough, as it is rarely found to be greater in large states. In the prussian, for example, upon an average of eleven years the same proportion holds good; whereas in Silesia and some pro-

* Frank's System der medizinischen Polizey, vol. i. p. 396.

vinces of Holland and France it is by far more advantageous *. — If we compute for the whole mass of people throughout the Russian empire, that of 26 living persons one is born; it follows, that, of the 36 millions of inhabitants annually about 1,385,000 persons are born.

The general agreement of the birth-lists of all countries has farther shewn, that of every great number of children more boys are born than girls, in the proportion of 105 to 100. Our lists likewise confirm this interesting observation, but they yield a far more sensible proportion: according to them 100 girls are born to 122 boys. This result seems to corroborate the hypothesis of the academician Hermann, that the surplus of the new-born boys is the largest precisely in the best and most fertile provinces of the Russian empire; and that, consequently, climate, good circumstances, and luxury, must have a remarkable influence on the procreation of boys. — If the above proportion be applicable to the whole mass of people, it will follow, that Russia, in the annual number of its births, has 761,000 boys and only 624,000 girls.

The quantum of MORTALITY arises from the proportion of the deaths to the living; and this by our lists is as 1 to 58; a proportion which in all

* Süssmilch's göttl. ordnung, part i. sect. 116.

the countries of Europe is hitherto without example, and would justify the most extraordinary expectations in favour of the progress of population, if the credibility of the bills of mortality could be placed out of doubt. As so small a mortality, however, militates so much against common experience, we may reasonably venture to bring them under suspicion. In the prussian states one annually dies out of 32 living, in Denmark one out of 37, in Norway one out of 48; is it easily conceivable that this last uncommonly favourable proportion could be everywhere so greatly exceeded in an empire of such a prodigious extent as Russia, and that in the greatest diversities of soil, climate, way of life, and even the national constitution of its inhabitants? From these and several other considerations it is probable that the bills of mortality are not so accurately and fully made out as the lists of births; in these there is scarcely the omission of any new-born child, as it is entered in the baptismal register: but how many people, and particularly children, are buried in the country without any priestly ceremonies, and how great the number of those who die in wars, on sea-voyages, in hospitals, and in prisons*, or lose their

* That the last, notwithstanding the imperial orders, have still no article allotted to them in the bills of mortality

their lives by means unknown, or avoid the bills of mortality of their parish by emigration. — Notwithstanding this, the agreement of all the mortality-tables of so many years and such a variety of districts is a curious circumstance; and from what we are able to deduce from the result of them in behalf of the foregoing observations, it appears undeniable that the mortality in Russia, as well as in other northern countries must be proportionately smaller than the political arithmetic in general is wont to admit. In confirmation of this assertion we may appeal to the bills of mortality of St. Petersburg, the credibility whereof is attested by the complete harmony of their results with the laws of nature, and has been competently evinced by the learned and sagacious investigations of the academician Krafft. From these lists it appears

lity, may be seen in several passages of the before-mentioned tract of professor Krafft. Il feroit à désirer (says he in the second memoir, *Nova acta*, tom. iv. p. 205) pour le bien de l'humanité, que les tables continssent un registre des morts arrivées dans les hôpitaux et les prisons, et surtout un exposé des genres des maladies; l'ordre impérial en fait une expresse mention. And in the third: (*Nova acta*, tom. viii. p. 255.) La publicité à l'égard des nombres annuels des morts arrivées dans les maisons des enfans trouvés, dans les hôpitaux et les prisons intéresse trop l'humanité pour ne pas désirer, aussi l'ordre impérial en fait, je le répète, une expresse mention.

that

that the proportion of the dead to the living, in three successive periods, comprising the interval from 1764 to 1790, was as 1 to 35, as 1 to 37, and in the last period, when epidemical diseases operated, as 1 to 29. The two first proportions are unparalleled for a city so large, populous, and luxurious, as it is usual to admit, in general, for the mortality of the open country only $\frac{1}{38}$, and as it has been shewn that in great cities, ex. gr. in London and Rome, it amounts to $\frac{1}{24}$ *. — Without, therefore, pretending to decide in this matter, we will adhere to the result of our lists, according to which the whole mortality carries off yearly 623,000 persons.

The proportion of the deaths of males to those of females is as 105 to 100; the russian empire, therefore, loses annually of the former 320,000, and of the latter only 303,000 persons. On comparing this statement with the proportion of the births of the two sexes, it appears as though in most parts of the russian empire not so many persons of the male sex proportionately die as boys are born, and that consequently in many provinces there must be a considerable surplus of males to females. This remark has been actually verified in parti-

* Süssmilch's gottl. ordnung, part i. sect. 35.

cular governments by enumerations *, and, if it could be proved of the rest likewise, would at the same time afford a proof (without making a question of decorum) that Russia is the last country in the world that could favour mohammedanism. But it is probable, that the inferior mortality of the male sex, at least in so striking a proportion, is not in the nature of the case, but only appears to be so in the bills of mortality, as that sex is principally exposed to those kinds of death which have a rubric in the lists.

* According to statements which are produced in the "Statistische uebersicht des russischen reichs," there are in the governments of

	Males.	Females.
St. Petersburg - - - - -	315,431	262,386
Vyborg - - - - -	89,637	87,167
Kharkof - - - - -	402,434	394,374
Kaluga - - - - -	393,108	377,739
Tambof - - - - -	443,660	435,904, &c.

On the other hand, however, there are several governments in which the female sex is the most numerous.

	Males.	Females.
Olonetz - - - - -	111,681	115,285
Riga - - - - -	262,853	264,029
Reval - - - - -	97,155	99,130
Yaroslaf - - - - -	373,296	393,143
Mosco (excl. of the capital) - - - - -	417,872	394,374, &c.

As the tables on which these calculations are grounded express neither the age nor the diseases of the deceased, many important results cannot be obtained which otherwise might be drawn from these proportions. To supply, however, in some sort this defect, we will at least follow the bills of mortality of St. Petersburg, the results whereof may perhaps be applicable, with due restrictions, to the empire at large.

Of 1000 new-born children in St. Petersburg about 5 are still-born; a proportion so small as not to be paralleled any where. The veracity of the lists cannot well be called in question, as the fact can be proved by other means; and the proportion of the still-born children of both sexes exactly tallies with that of other countries: there are here, as well as almost every where, of 1000 boys 9 still-born, but of the same number of girls only 5. These lists moreover shew, that, among the foreigners settled in St. Petersburg, of 1000 births 25 are still-born, and therefore five times more than among the Russians. — With far better reason may this favourable appearance be explained from the robust constitution of the Russian mothers and the frequent use of the hot baths. Both nature and their manner of life are so propitious to the Russian women, that of 1000 lying-in only 7 die, whereas
of

of the same number of foreigners in Petersburg 15 lose their lives in child-bed.

If we admit this proportion for the whole amount of births in the Russian empire, (and with what shew of reason could it be affirmed that it must fare worse with people in the country and in small towns?) then the advantage is plain that the population receives from the vigour and happy organization of the female sex. Of the sum total of 1,385,000 births, according to this proportion, only 6920 are still-born children; but if the proportion were as with the foreigners at St. Petersburg, then would the number of them amount to 34,600; consequently the country would lose upwards of 27,000 more citizens, at their very entrance into the world, than probably its loss amounts to by the present proportion.

At St. Petersburg of 1000 children on an average 184 die in the first year of their age. This mortality likewise is extremely small for so large a city: in Berlin, for instance, in this period 276 die, in London 320, and even for the open country, the deaths are generally reckoned at not fewer than 211. If this proportion be so favourable in the residence, it must be far more advantageous in the provinces, where the mothers suckle their children; we shall therefore probably not fall into an error, if we apply it in
general

general to the whole population. The result therefrom would be, that Russia, of the whole yearly amount of her births, loses 255,000 in the first year of their age.

Of 1000 children that are one year old, 809 attain to their fifteenth year; but 191 die during that period of life. The loss to the state amounts in the whole therefore to about 216,000 children; and at the end of the fifteenth year it has still 914,000 youths and girls remaining, who enter on their prime of life with full vigour.

The greater however the hopes which so extraordinarily great a vitality may justify, so much the more unexpected is the lamentable result produced by the succeeding period of life. From the twentieth to the sixtieth year there die in St. Petersburg of 1000 persons 817; of 1000 persons at the age of twenty consequently no more than 183 can cherish the hope of reaching to so short a term. Therefore, during this period of an equal number there die 273 more persons than generally in other countries, and 97 more than even in London, which exceeds all great cities in the number of its deaths*. So striking and remarkable a phenomenon as this, makes it incumbent upon us to endeavour to trace out its cause.

* Sussmilch, tom. ii. p. 348.

The source of this tremendous mortality cannot possibly be in nature, as it suddenly appears after an extraordinarily great vitality. If the bodily constitution of the people, or the physical quality of the country had any influence on it, its effects would be principally seen in the tender period of life which is every where liable to a greater mortality; but here exactly the reverse appears among the Russians, as we have made apparent by drawing comparisons with other countries. The source of the evil then must be non-natural; it must be in the manner of living. The bills of mortality, alas! leave no room to doubt it; they teach us, that this great mortality chiefly relates to the male sex, and that it is principally occasioned by fevers and consumptions, that is, by diseases brought on by the intemperate use of strong liquors.

It is to brandy then that we must lay all the blame of this terrible effect. In order to simplify in numbers the loss sustained by the country in its human-capital through the means of this pernicious liquor, let us admit, that the mortality from the fifteenth to the twentieth year, observes the same proportion which holds good in general from the birth to the fifteenth year; at the end of the twentieth year then the total of the deaths amounts to 628,000, and the state retains still

757,000

757,000 young citizens remaining, which may become useful members of society from that period by their industry and by the propagation of their species. Of this noble capital, in the most valuable period of life not less than 618,000 individuals perish, and of the whole sum of all the births at the conclusion of the sixtieth year only 139,000 persons remain, who from their temperance or greater strength of constitution may hope to attain to a more advanced age. If, on the other hand, the mortality during this period observed the same proportion which it usually does in other countries, then would the loss at the end of it amount only to 412,000 persons, and consequently 206,000 more persons sixty years old would be still alive, who at present by their intemperance have been prematurely carried off.

After this remark we naturally can expect only a small number of aged people. In St. Petersburg of 1000 births no more than 3 attain the age of ninety; whereas, in the ordinary course of nature, 9 ought to arrive at that honourable term. If this proportion may be applied to the whole, then, of all the births, at the end of the ninetieth year only 4200 would be left, of whom however several might entertain the hope of reaching

reaching a very advanced age. — From our lists it appears that one out of 85 deaths had lived more than a hundred years; three out of that number were so fortunate as to extend their life to 120 years.

The rubric of diseases is entirely omitted in these bills of mortality; and even in those of St. Petersburg it is so incomplete and erroneous, that the academical commentary upon it can only produce very unsatisfactory results. It is much to be wished that the lists were improved in this respect. An accurate and well-classified statement of the diseases of all the departed in the various regions of so vast an empire would furnish materials for a medical topography, which, from the great diversity of the soil and climate and the nations themselves must prove extremely important to the natural history of mankind; and by the comparison of the several data with each other and with the general laws of nature, might point out to government the best methods to be adopted for preserving its people. — As these ideas, however, are at present only pious wishes, we will at least communicate the scanty harvest we have been able to reap from this profitable but hitherto so little cultivated a field.

The greatest mortality at St. Petersburg is caused by the three following classes of disease :
fever,

fever, pleurisy, and consumption. They attack the male sex more frequently than the female, and together carry off the half of all that die. As these diseases can hardly be ascribed to local circumstances, but most probably take their rise from the way of living of the great mass of people, we may suppose their fatal effects to be in a like proportion in other parts and in entire provinces. — On the other hand the diseases of children, e. gr. convulsions, teeth, small-pox, measles, are in St. Petersburg (and probably also in the greater part of Russia) far less fatal than elsewhere. Convulsions, which commit the most ravages, carry off the 24th part of all the births; but in other countries they are far more destructive. — Before the introduction of inoculation the natural small-pox killed $\frac{1}{11}$ of all that were born; since that epocha $\frac{1}{8}$. From this remark arise two weighty consequences: One, that this formidable disease is not so malignant in Russia as in other countries, where on an average it carries off $\frac{1}{4}$ of the births*; and,

* The question whether the small-pox be proportionably more innoxious in Russia than in other countries, has given rise to two very interesting writings we shall more than once have occasion to quote: professor Schlœtzer's before-mentioned treatise on the innoxiousness of the small-pox in Russia;
and

and, secondly, that the beneficial practice of inoculation, even in the residence, is by no means

and pastor Grot's supplement to his sermons on inoculation, "On the fatal effects of the small-pox in St. Petersburg, as relative to the question concerning the innocuousness of that disorder in Russia." Schloetzer, who declares for the affirmative, supports his argument on the ten monthly lists of deaths at St. Petersburg for the year 1764, and on the declaration of some students who belong to the houses in various parts of Russia. This testimony, as well as the assertion itself, Grot undertakes to refute; and in fact truth seems to incline to his side. At least among all the nomadic nations of the Russian empire, the small-pox, according to the most credible evidences, are incomparably more fatal than in the European states. Their prevalence indeed is not continual; but, when they once begin any where to rage, their ravages are the more dreadful. They observe periods, returning after ten, twenty, or thirty years; but their less frequent appearance has no influence to the diminution of their mortality. All that the population seems to gain in any of these intervals, is perhaps lost to a double amount by the havoc committed by the contagion at its return. The easy access which inoculation found among the Siberian nations, affords a fresh probable argument in behalf of the great mortality of the small-pox there. Nothing but great and almost inevitable danger could have prompted unenlightened nomades in such numerous multitudes to the use of a remedy, which on one side was so strongly recommended to them by the natural instinct of self-preservation; and on the other side promised a safeguard to the lives of their children not to be expected from any other quarter. — The mortality

means general, because in that case the mortality must have greatly diminished, as by universal experience we find that of the inoculated only three die out of 1000.

Lastly, from the several proportions we have now adduced of the fertility and mortality, is seen the ratio of the progress of population, or the space of time requisite for the mass of the people to double itself. This ratio is apparent both from the proportion of the general fertility

mortality of the smallpox, continues Grot in his dissertations, to the native Russians may perhaps be less, but perhaps also greater. To adopt as general the proportion admitted from the tables of St. Petersburg, is too hazardous. How easily may causes unknown to us, arising either from the difference of climate, of the atmosphere, of the weather, of bodily frame, or are entirely independent on them, give the preponderance to one side or the other! — The contemporaneous experiences of whole countries and nations are in favour of the ordinary degree of their mortality, as well as the frequent and sudden conversion of the mild into the malignant sort, their no less frequent and sudden propagation, the danger which is even connected with the mode of their infection, and is only to be mitigated by inoculation, and the general laws of mortality in regard to each particular disease. An inferior mortality is an exception; and so long as this is not shewn by numbers, so long shall we have only uncertain conjectures in behalf of an appearance which deviates so much from the ordinary course of nature." *Sermons on inoculation of the smallpox*, p. 431.

and mortality to the whole number of the living, and from the surplus of the births to the deaths. On this matter the lists before us, after what has been premised, yield the following result:

The ratio of the general fertility	
is $\frac{1}{28}$; consequently the number	
of the annual births out of 36 mil-	
lions amounts to - - - - -	1,385,000
The ratio of the general mortality	
is $\frac{1}{58}$; consequently the number	
of the annual deaths out of 36	
millions amounts to - - - - -	623,000

The surplus of the births, or the	
yearly increase of the population,	
is therefore - - - - -	762,000

Accordingly the proportion of the births to the deaths is as 225 to 100; or of 100 that are born, 44 or 45 die. The population therefore is annually increased by about $\frac{1}{49}$, or is doubled within 49 years.

This astonishing increase of the population may perhaps excite some doubt as to the correctness of the lists, for the credibility whereof indeed we cannot vouch; but however extraordinary such a rapid duplication may appear, yet it is not entirely without example. If so acute and honest an inquisitor as Franklin estimates the period for this duplication in the united provinces

vinces of America at 25 years, why should not the russian empire, with the like and greater natural advantages, possess half as much tendency to the increase of its population? Were we even to give all possible weight to the arguments that have above been brought against the validity of the bills of mortality, and reduce the surplus of the births to half a million; still the result will far exceed the experiments that have been made in the generality of european countries on the increase of population.

If these observations prove not unwelcome to the philosophical inquirer; if they afford government any suggestions on the most important of all political concerns: it is then worth while to complete the means for rendering these useful calculations practicable. — “ Well-made lists
“ of births and deaths,” says the author of the learned tract to which we are indebted for several of the interesting statements in this Section *,
“ present to us the influence of physical and political circumstances on the well-being of the
“ people, in plain arithmetical expression; they
“ are a sort of political thermometer to the rulers
“ of states, pointing out to them the degree,

* Kraft, Mémoire i. Acta Petropolitana for the year 1782, part i. p. 65.

“ even the lowest, of the declination of the pro-
“ sperity of their people; they are the incor-
“ ruptible organ, which reduces the public
“ exigencies to language, and consequently
“ points out to sovereigns the surest means of
“ diffusing content and happiness over millions
“ of mankind. But, great as their utility is
“ when they bear the stamp of truth, so dan-
“ gerous are they when they deviate from that
“ standard, or are falsified by imposture to mislead
“ the judgment of well-meaning princes !”

SECTION II.

Public Institutions for the Preservation and Increase of the Population.

HAVING seen how benignly the increase of the stock of people is provided for by Nature, it is now time to inquire how far the government has been attentive to this important object.

The means which the state may employ to this end are of two kinds : either positive, whereby the population is actually, directly, or mediately augmented ; or negative, by which depopulation is prevented.

How

How great soever the activity may be with which Nature every where operates to the increase of mankind, not less destructive are the impediments to her grand and maternal views. But few of our species attain to that period of life which Nature has assigned, not to individuals, but to the whole human race: one half of mankind wither in their early bloom. — According to the calculations which we have just laid before our readers, it is more than probable that the Russian empire loses of the annual growth of its population above 628,000 of all that are born before they reach their twentieth year, of whom a very great part fall innocent victims to ignorance, to superstition, to negligence, and to the moral depravity of their parents and nurses. Were it possible only in some degree to stop the sources of this dreadful loss, and only to rescue the twentieth part of this slaughtered generation, the state would receive a pure gain every year of more than 31,000 human beings, which would be precisely as if it were enriched by 31,000 new citizens.

But, it will be asked, is it not Nature herself who allots to the greater part of the race of men so short a term, and destroys the half of her own work ere it has reached maturity? — Certainly Nature, for wise and good purposes, has made

the first period of human life dependent on the nursing and care of others, and the whole of its physical existence on a thousand accidental circumstances; but no less certain is it, that man is his own destroyer, and that the physical and moral corruption of large societies begets numberless new evils, the origin whereof can never be charged on Nature. If, for example, by well-attested observations, of 1000 children nourished by their mothers, only 300 die; but of just the same number who are suckled by nurses 500 are a prey to death: — if the natural smallpox kill the 7th child, while of the inoculated only 3 out of 1000 lose their lives: — if London formerly lost only a tenth of its births by convulsions; but at present, since it is become larger, more opulent and more luxurious, its loss is risen to three tenths: — if in Russia annually 200,000 grown persons are brought prematurely into the bills of mortality by the immoderate use of strong liquors: this surely is not the fault of Nature, who neither teaches us to keep nurses nor to drink brandy, and who, if we follow her simple and beneficent dictates, renders even mortal distempers innoxious.

Unquestionable as it is that the generality of physical evils proceed from man himself, not less so is it that he has the eradication or the mitigation

tion of them in his own power. The care of his own preservation is implanted as an instinct in the breast of each individual, which only needs some understanding and conduct in order to reach its end: in civil society the care for the preservation of all is a duty incumbent on the state *, and which requires to be supported with the greater energy the more its strength and welfare are dependent on that care. No one will make it a matter of doubt, that a wise and vigilant government possesses great and powerful means to check the mortality of its subjects; and of what may be effected in this regard by public institutions, history affords us instructive and striking examples. Famine, pestilence, leprosy, and smallpox have formerly depopulated whole provinces; but corn-magazines, lazarets, and inoculation-houses have gradually set bounds to their devastations; and, if these horrible calamities still at times rage in other quarters of the world, yet the citizen of Europe is secured from their farther dissemination.

From the following representation it will appear how much in Russia the government has hitherto done in this important part of public

* Instruction of Catharine II. to the commission for framing a code of laws, cap. xii. sect. 267.

concern. A country in which most of the institutions of this kind are of a new creation, and where the people live dispersed over a monstrous surface, great difficulties naturally present themselves to the provisions that may be undertaken for preserving the numbers and the health of the inhabitants. This remark, which perhaps to some readers will not appear superfluous, will place us in the true point of view, for forming an impartial judgment on the establishments and measures, which are at present the object of our attention*.

Medicine, as a science, was not domesticated in Russia till the commencement of the present century. For though before that period foreign physicians were individually maintained at the court of the tzars; yet public medical institutions were unknown to the empire. Peter the great first called expert physicians and surgeons, erected hospitals and endowed a MEDICAL CHANCERY or faculty, which had the supervisal of

* Many of these particulars are from a manuscript written by the late baron Afch, senior member of the medical college, and another by Dr. Ellisen; but for the friendly communication of which it would have been almost impossible to have drawn up any account of these matters, as little or nothing has hitherto been published in Russia on what may be called medical statistics,

the whole state of medicine, committing to it the care of its foundation and enlargement. The favourite physician of that emperor was Blumentrost, a German, born at Mosco, who, afterwards, as president of the academy of sciences, was also director of the medical faculty, and as well under that sovereign as the two following enjoyed the place of an archiater. With him Peter the great had another physician, Dr. Areskine, of Scotland, but who was thought, under cover of this post, to act ministerially as agent from the scottish jacobites. — During the reign of the empress Anna, besides these two physicians, Kruger and Fischer, with the famous Ernest Stahl, were invited from Berlin to St. Petersburg, who, however, after a short stay, quitted the residence and returned to Berlin. — Elizabeth conferred the post of archiater on the physician Lestock so celebrated in the history of her reign; and about the same time Ribeiro Sanchez came to Russia, on whose recommendation also Boerhaave was invited thither. Pannaiota Kondoidi, from the island of Corfu, was then president of the medical chancery, a man of talents and great sagacity, who first published the regulation of the college of medicine.

On the death of Kondoidi in the year 1760, the direction of the medicine chancery was committed

mitted to three of the most eminent physicians, whose function, however, shortly afterwards became extinct, in consequence of the erection by Catharine II. in 1763 of the IMPERIAL MEDICAL COLLEGE, whose foundation forms a new and important epocha in the history of physic in Russia *.

Much has been done since the time of Peter the great to advance the knowledge of the healing art by the founding of hospitals, establishing of apothekes, inviting of foreign physicians, &c.; but the mode of proceeding has been defective, and not conducted on any regular plan. The supervisal of the whole state of physic was one while committed to the chancery, then to one sole chief, and it rarely happened that one and the same direction continued long enough to produce any lasting benefit, as it was the uniform practice of the successor to destroy what the former had been doing. It was owing to this state of things that Russia, during a space of more than sixty years, has been able to produce from the nation but very few skilful physicians and surgeons, and that amongst several expert and deserving foreigners it has been

* Ukase of the 12th of November 1763, relating to the founding of the medic. imp. coll.

plagued with so many half-learned and ignorant physicians; besides, in the interior and remoter provinces there was still a great want of proper medical institutions.

In order to remedy this defect, and put the whole police-of-health, which forms so important and essential a branch of the general administration, under one sole, powerful, and effective direction, Catharine created the medical imperial college, delivering to it at the same time a definite and express instruction. "Two things," says this memorial, "the college are to make their principal object: to preserve the people of the empire by the arts of medicine, to educate russian doctors, surgeons, operators, and apothecaries, and in the next place to put the apothekes and their œconomy on a good footing *." — The plan of the present work being too confined to allow of a greater prolixity in regard to the methods it was found necessary to adopt for the attainment of these views, we can only here give a very general sketch of the diligence and the present state of this department.

To the college-establishment belong, besides the director in chief and the presidents, (which places are usually filled by persons of elevated

* Instruction of the college and its members.

rank,)

rank) four doctors as members, who are accounted of the sixth class, or have the rank of college-counsellors, of whom one has the care of the correspondence as the learned secretary; farther, a chief-surgeon, who belongs to the seventh, an operator and an apothecary, belonging to the eighth class. Besides, they have several other secretaries, translators, and writers appointed by themselves. In connection with the college is the æconomical chancery and the revision-office, which however have neither seat nor voice in the college. — The personal salaries altogether amount to the yearly sum of 19,150 rubles.

This college has a department in Mosco, whose president for the time being is city-physician, and which costs annually in salaries 4000 rubles.

The revenue of the college arises principally from the three following articles: 1. A per centage on the pay of all civil and military officers, who, in return, (but not their families,) are attended by physicians and provided with medicines gratis. 2. The profit on the sale of medicines to the public. This part of their income, however, is constantly declining by the competition of private apothekes. 3. Moreover, the college

college receives annually an addition of 470,000 rubles, whereof 120,000 are paid out of the imperial treasury*.

The disbursements for the college-establishments and its dependences, but without the governments, physicians, and hospitals, amount annually to 114,760 rubles.

The sphere of this imperial college extends over the whole body of physic, and all medical persons throughout, excepting only the medical establishment of the court. It is its duty to see that all the governments and circles are provided with the requisite physicians, surgeons, and apothecaries according to the imperial precept; it watches over the observance of the duties of every individual under its direction, and has inherently the power to reward and to punish. It has the inspection over the management of the apothekes belonging to the crown, over the hospitals and medical seminaries of education. It examines all physicians, surgeons, and operators before they can be permitted to practice in the empire, from which even academical testimonies and degrees will not exempt, and publishes in the Gazette the names of the

* Ukase of June 2, 1794. — In the years 1794 and 1795 the arrears due to it from the college of war and the admiralty were liquidated by a sum of 530,000 rubles.

persons to whom that permission is granted. It is competent to confer the degree of doctor in medicine. It has to do in general with whatever belongs to the medical system, and its correlative institutions. Accordingly it holds a regular correspondence with all the provinces of the empire, for obtaining information concerning the state of the national health. On learning that some infectious distemper has anywhere made its appearance, it loses no time in adopting the proper means for stopping its progress. Lastly, it attends to the improvement of the healing art in general; and to this end collects the cases transmitted by the several physicians of the empire, and publishes them from time to time in the latin language. — The medical department in Mosco co-operates with it to these purposes only with the limitation that it is dependent on the college, and can neither appoint physicians nor prohibit them from practising.

The sphere of action of the medical college being so important and so extensive, it cannot be expected that we should here give the history of it from its foundation. We shall content ourselves with producing a few instances of the manner in which this learned establishment has endeavoured to accomplish the design of its erection.

They have published a Pharmacopœa Rossica, which first appeared in the year 1778; regulations concerning apothecaries, midwives, with the fees that are to be taken by them as well as by physicians and surgeons, in 1789, in latin, russ, and german. — The college in 1765 employed for the first time the imperial authority of creating doctors, by conferring their diploma on the chevalier Orræus, who had studied in Königsberg; but before he could be promoted was called home. They made it their principal business to form young physicians and surgeons from the natives, the want of whom was very sensibly felt in the interior provinces, and by encouragements and rewards brought out several good medical translations as well as original writings. — For supplying the army, the navy, and the hospitals with chirurgical instruments, the college erected three workshops, in St. Petersburg, Mosco, and Tobolsk, of which the first is the best. As the college spares no expences for causing russian pupils to be instructed by the most skilful foreign artists that can be procured, the empire is now in possession of a sufficient number of its own instrument-makers, whose work is but little inferior to the best of what comes from abroad. The salaries paid at these shops amount annually in St. Petersburg

tersburg to 3000, and at Mosco to 1700 rubles; the particular inspection over the former is committed to an operator, who is a member of the college and a native Russian. — In the year 1795 the college erected its own printing-office with a type-foundry adjoining, which has already published several works, the typographical neatness whereof does honour to the overseer. At the printing-office a very expert engraver is also maintained. — Of the other concerns of the college, and the advancement of the art of physick in Russia, mention will occasionally be made as we proceed.

Among the principal institutions depending on the medical college is the town-physicate, in the capital, the residence, and the chief towns, whose peculiar office it is to visit monthly the private apothekes. — The crown-apothekes are managed entirely on the account of the crown. The imperial chief-apothekes at Petersburg and Mosco provide all the rest with materials, and deliver the necessary medicines to all the public institutions, the military hospitals, &c. All officers, civil and military, receive for their own persons, free of expence, what they want from the crown-apothekes, in consideration of the fore-mentioned deduction from their pay; the rest of the public pay according to the rates prescribed.

prescribed. For a long time the crown-apothekes were the only ones in being ; but during the reign of Catharine II. the number of private apothekes in the residence, and some of the government-towns have so much increased, that the former have but few customers from the public. All, even foreign medicines, are not allowed to be sent out from any of the apothekes otherwise than sealed, and with a label written after a prescribed form. — St. Petersburg has at present three chief and four collateral apothekes of the crown, with ten private apothekes. The yearly salaries at the former amount to 6750 rubles. The apothecary-garden of the medical college has adjoining to it a botanical garden, and contains also the chemical laboratory for the preparation of the several medicines in the gross. Both establishments cost annually 7000 rubles.

From this brief account of the medical college and its operation, we will proceed to describe the sanity-institutions connected with it, and which may be properly divided into two classes, the civil and the military.

Ever since the time of Peter the great there have been hospitals for the army, but medical establishments for the citizens in towns and the country people were not thought of. The prodigious

digious compass of such an undertaking, in a country of such an extent, with difficulties and expence that must necessarily attend it, arising from the great distance of the towns, the want of physicians, and even the manners and prejudices of the people, seemed even to render the proposal impracticable. It was reserved for the reign of Catharine II. in this matter too to set an example which will never be forgotten in the annals of russian history. In the year 1763, when the instruction for the medical college was laid before her for her to sign, she wrote with her own hand the following words to the seventh paragraph: "The college must likewise not forget to draw up plans in what manner hospitals are to be set up in the provinces, and to make representations to us on the subject." Shortly after she issued the order for improving the lists of births and deaths, and to transmit them to the senate and to the academy of sciences. From several passages in the instruction to the commission for framing a code of laws, it appears that a concern for the public health incessantly occupied her active mind. In the year 1775 appeared the ordinance for new-modelling the governments; and, what till then had been thought scarcely possible, or could only have been considered as a speculation which might

might perhaps be realized at some very distant period, Russia received a national dispensary, extending to all the parts of this great empire, and over every class of its inhabitants, not excepting the most indigent and helpless.

By this ordinance* every government, in each of its circles, must have a physician and surgeon for the town and the circle or district, two assistant surgeons, and two pupils. According to the establishment of the government of Tver, which is annexed to the ordinance, the doctor is to have 300, the surgeon 140, the assistant 60, and the pupil 30 rubles, as their pay, which for all the eleven circles of that government makes 6820 rubles. The pay, however, is not alike in all the governments, and particularly in the remoter ones it is much higher. These medical persons are moreover allowed to accept of fees from the private patients to whom they are called.

The difficulty in introducing the new medical constitution was how to obtain a sufficient number of expert physicians and surgeons; but even this deficiency was remedied by Catharine's bounty. Many of those who had assembled in the great towns of the empire, now distributed

* Ordinance relating to the governments, chap. iii. sect. 70.

themselves about the provinces, where, with the advantage of a settled pay, they could lay their account in receiving a considerable income from their private practice, and live proportionately much cheaper; in order to complete their number, Dr. Zimmermann, of Hanover, had a commission to engage by way of contract physicians of Germany of well-founded reputation and practical experience. A number of useful and able foreigners accepted of this invitation, and settled, for the most part on very advantageous terms, in the Russian states. The generality of them, besides the expences of their journey, had an appointment of 800 rubles per ann. and the place of their abode was left to their own option; at the same time they were all dispensed from the necessity of submitting to the examination of the medical college, which otherwise every physician must undergo previous to his settling in Russia. — To this time, however, there are not so many physicians as are requisite for all the governments; but their number is increasing every year, and in the mean time the present ones supply circles which are not yet occupied. The defect of surgeons is entirely removed in most of the governments; the medical college have, as far as has been possible, taken care in all places to provide skilful midwives.

In

In each government there is likewise a college of general provision, which, besides several other duties, is entrusted with the erection and inspection of the hospitals and infirmaries of the town*. These are instituted for a determinate number of patients (about 20 or 30) and may not admit any more. They are intended for the poor and necessitous, who are cured and attended free of all expence; but whenever there are vacancies, other patients and gentlemen's servants are taken in; these are allowed separate beds, but pay a very moderate sum for their cure. — Besides these infirmaries the college of general provision maintains particular houses for incurable patients who have no support, and receptacles for lunatics. The design of the former is that the unhappy objects, for whom they are destined, may not deprive such of the poor as are afflicted with curable diseases of a place in the hospitals, and yet not themselves be entirely without relief. The college of general provision is bound to provide them lodging, board, nurses, and attendance, that at least they may have some mitigation of their sufferings. In the houses for lunatics poor patients of this description have free admittance: but such as have the means

* Ordinance concerning the governments, chap. xxv. sect. 380. 386. 388, 389. 394.

must pay for their maintenance and attendance an adequate sum.

For the erection and regulation of these and other institutions for the relief of suffering humanity, within the province of the college of general provision, each of them receives at its opening, from the imperial coffers, the sum of 15,000 rubles, which in most of the governments is considerably augmented by the charitable contributions of the public. The said college was also empowered to establish apothekes, and to employ the profits arising from them to the benefit of the aforementioned institutions; but on condition that they should be supplied gratis with all necessary medicines.

In the capital, in the residence, and in the generality of populous towns these institutions are now not only upon a much larger scale than the general precept at first promised; but they are multiplied in various ways by the co-operation of the community at large. That we may give at least one example of the greater institutions of this kind we will here insert a brief description of the town-hospital of St. Petersburg*, which was founded in the year 1784. — It is built in one of the skirts of the city by the side

* Georgi, Beschreibung von St. Petersburg, chap. i, p. 241.

of the beautiful and broad Fontanka-canal, and consists of a large, brick, insulated building of handsome but simple architecture. The ground floor is devoted to the æconomical purposes of the institution, and the upper stories are occupied by the patients. The rooms are lofty and spacious; and instead of ventilators, some of the window-shutters are pannelled with wire-work. In winter the warmth of the rooms must never be greater than 10 to 12 degrees of Réaumur.

This house, the internal arrangement whereof is modelled after the hospital of Vienna in its best properties, receives all necessitous patients, venereal excepted, and attends their cure without fee or reward; handicraftsmen and gentlemen's servants pay four rubles per month. All patients on admission are immediately bathed and have their heads shaven; this done, they receive the hospital clothing and severally a bed, having curtains round, but no tester. The two sexes are kept entirely apart. The number of beds amounts usually to 300, but in cases of emergency is increased to 400. In the year 1790, six contiguous buildings of timber on brick foundations were erected behind the main edifice, by the college of general provision, and furnished with 250 beds. Here the patients in summer enjoy the free air; and, during the in-

terval thus procured, the principal building is thoroughly cleansed, and the atmosphere changed by currents of air. — Besides its projector and chief visitor the counsellor of state von Kelchen, this institution has a staff-surgeon and five other surgeons; it has likewise a naturalist belonging to it appointed for the purpose of trying the effects of electricity on the patients.

This salutary institution, which does as much good as can be expected from it in the present circumstances, has however experienced the fate of all institutions of this nature; namely, patients are often brought to it so late that they can scarcely be lifted out of the bath and put to bed, which is in a great measure owing to the aversion entertained by the common people to public hospitals. In the four years from 1786 to 1789, it had altogether taken in 9427 patients, and the number is found annually to increase. Of these 7417 were sent out cured, 1773 died, and 237 remained in it at the conclusion of the latter year.

In the mad-house, which with its small end abuts upon the back front of the main structure, is upon the same footing and under the same direction, are 44 rooms in two ranges, the one for male and the other for female lunatics. A broad passage divides them; the door of each cham-

ber

ber is fastened with a spring latch, which the keeper can open from without. The raving are not confined with chains but with leather thongs, while the quiet are suffered to walk freely in the passage or in the court. This institution has also in common with the foregoing a garden for recreation. The whole establishment, treatment, method of cure, and diet, are gentle and well-conducted, as plainly appears from their effects. In the three years from 1787 to 1789 altogether were there 229 of these miserable beings, of whom 161 were sent out restored, 11 dismissed into the poor-house as incurable, 47 died, and 10 remained behind.

The city-hospital of St. Petersburg for poor and incurable patients was opened in 1781. The indigence which qualifies for admission to it is distinguished into degrees which form two classes, one whereof comprises the completely impotent, who have a claim to the full benefit of the house; to the second class belong those who are capable of doing some kind of work. These latter are employed in any adequate occupation about the house. According to the establishment the expenditure of the hospital amounts annually to 15,417 rubles. — The city-hospital at Mosco, which was endowed in 1775, admitted at that time 150 patients, and is completely on the same footing

footing with that of St. Petersburg. A mad-house is likewise connected with it.

Now, though the description of these institutions would be suitable only to a few towns in the empire, it is nevertheless certain that several on a smaller scale are proportionably upon as good a footing and as well conducted; and that the benefit accruing from Catharine's philanthropic regulations for the preservation of her people, and for the alleviation of poverty and affliction among them, acquires for that great princess one immortal merit more. Where the end is so generous and humane, and where the means are so well selected, the effects must correspond with the design; and who will pretend that both of them are not here in concurrence?

Besides the classes of public hospitals already named, which, by the regulations for constituting the governments, must be in every one of them, there are in many other institutions of a similar nature, partly endowed by the crown, and partly by rich and humane individuals. Among them the excellent hospital founded at Mosco in the year 1763 by the grand-duke and heir apparent Paul Petrovitch, deserves particular mention, in which, at his expence, 50 persons are always maintained at a time, cured, and attended gratis. The philanthropic Mr. Howard,

who visited this hospital himself, says that it would be difficult to find a better situation in the vicinity of the city for this institution, having a large airy spot before it. The building consists of only one story, and stands two or three steps higher than the garden. The rooms are lofty, and each of them has an opening in the roof; the upper part of the window was likewise open, a circumstance, he adds, which he never observed in any other hospital in Russia. All the apartments are cleanly and kept in good order; the beds are of blue linen and sufficiently large, being six feet two inches long and two feet ten inches broad; sufficient space is left between for making them. He tells us that he tasted the bread and the beer, and found them both very good; and adds, on the whole, I must confess that this little hospital would do honour to any country. When I visited it there were in it 19 men and 7 women, besides about an equal number of venereal patients, who were kept in rooms quite separate; the kitchen and offices are commendably apart from the main building*.

To the medical-surgical school in St. Petersburg a small clinical hospital is added, which,

* Observations made on his last journey, 4to. 1794.
p. 37.

besides its peculiar destination, to furnish young surgeons with an opportunity for practical improvement, is also beneficial to upwards of a hundred poor patients annually. — In the same city is likewise a lazaret for venereal patients, founded by the crown in 1783. It has 60 beds, whereof 30 are for men, and the same number for women. Those that are admitted may keep themselves in perfect incognito, but may not leave the hospital before they are completely recovered. — We pass over a multitude of other institutions of a like nature in Mosco and other great towns of the empire, which have principally arisen from the bounty of well-disposed persons in private life. Certain it is that few other countries afford so many and such striking proofs of the liberality and compassion of the public at large in charitable institutions.

In the second class we must place the MILITARY-HOSPITALS. They chiefly date their origin from the time of Peter the great, or the creation of the regular army and the fleet.

For the land-forces, besides the two general land-hospitals in St. Petersburg and Mosco, there are fourteen large field-hospitals at Astrakhan, Bogoyavlensk, Kherfon, Kriukof, Riga, Reval, Elizabethgorod, Orenburg, Vyborg, Frederiksham, Kazan, Lubenau, Smolensk, and in Caucasus,

casus; without reckoning the several battalion-lazarets, which are every where in great numbers. Each division has moreover its own physician, and belonging to the whole army are appointed three general-staff-medici, and above five-and-twenty doctors, as they are called. — All the field-hospitals receive the sums assigned to their support from the war-commissariate.

The general hospital for land troops in St. Petersburg was instituted by Peter the great; it stands in one of the out-quarters on the bank of the Neva, and has now commonly 1000 beds; but in time of war, and when recruits are raising, the number is twice or three times as great. It admits, besides the guards and the artillery, who have their own medical establishments, all the patients of the army. The medical persons belonging to it are a physician, a chief surgeon, an operator, five surgeons, and twenty assistant surgeons, fifty pupils, and an apothecary, to which may be added several assistant-physicians and voluntary surgeons without stipends; which last, by way of recompence, if they are found expert in their examination are immediately appointed surgeons by the medical-college. The whole expences, exclusive of the maintenance of the patients and medicines, amount annually to 9620 rubles. — The general hospital in Mosco,

on the bank of the Yafua, consists of 23 wards, has nearly the same establishment, but the salaries are somewhat smaller.

The eleven sea-hospitals at present subsisting are at St. Petersburg, Cronstadt, Oranienbaum, Riga, Archangel, Kazan, Taganrok, Bogoyavlensk, Kherfon, Reval, and Sevastopol. They receive their pay from the two admiralties of the Baltic and the Euxine. — The hospital for marines in St. Petersburg is on rather a smaller scale than the land-hospital of that place, but is equal to it in its establishment*. In the war-years 1788, and 1789 it had 7900 to 8800 patients. The stipends and other disbursements, not including the maintenance of the patients or medicines, amount yearly to 6870 rubles. — As the sea-hospital at Cronstadt during the last Swedish war was obliged to admit annually from

* The following are the stated salaries in the two hospitals at St. Petersburg:

	Land Hospital.	Sea Hospital.
The doctor receives per annum	1000 rubles	800 rubles
Staff-surgeon	600	450
Operator	320	320
Surgeon	200	200
Under-surgeon	120	120
Pupil in surgery	80	30 to 80
Apothecary	180	180
Pupil in pharmacy	80	80

16,800

16,800 to 25,000 patients, therefore about that time a new marine hospital was constituted at Oranienbaum, and a part of the imperial palace there was granted and fitted up for that purpose *.

A third

* Having once appealed to the favourable testimony of the philanthropic Mr. John Howard, impartiality requires that we should not attempt to conceal his less flattering judgment or his censure. His account of the land and sea-hospitals on the whole is favourable enough; but in the establishment of the marine hospital at Cronstadt he finds much to blame. But still more severe is his judgment on the field-hospitals in the interior of the empire. It appears, however, after the most careful inquiries of upright and skilful army-physicians, that our worthy countryman, being totally unacquainted with the form of government, the manners and the language of the russian nation, and beguiled by his enthusiastic humanity, was at times prompted to draw hasty conclusions. The harshest censures which Mr. Howard passes on the russian field-hospitals relate principally to the following particulars: 1. Defect of cleanliness. This indeed is not to be vindicated; yet the ideas of cleanliness in an Englishman and a Russian are so very different, that things which might appear extremely striking to Mr. Howard, with the latter would excite no sensation whatever. Mr. Howard, however, praises the contrary on many occasions. 2. Confined air. To live in rooms close shut up, as Mr. Howard himself remarks, is the custom of the country. Several hospitals are provided with ventilators, but the patients themselves request that no use may be made of them. 3. Bad nourishment. Here we should have
regard

A third class of public medical institutions consists of those which cannot properly be inserted under the former heads, and the subsistence whereof is for the most part entirely independent on the foregoing establishments. To these principally belong the houses for lying-in women, foundling hospitals, and those for the small-pox, as likewise the pest houses. A particular account of all these will certainly not be required in a work of this nature; but it would be an unpardonable omission to pass them over in total silence. Some specimens of the most remarkable of each kind will sufficiently answer

regard to custom. When Mr. Howard finds the *quas* four, and finds fault with it for being so, he shews himself utterly unacquainted with this beverage, as well as with the *sbitin*. The *quas* should be four; and this wholesome antiscorbutic national drink is only then spoiled or badly prepared when it has no acid. That Mr. Howard should find the nutritious, but coarse and black bread, bad, is very conceivable to an Englishman, who is only accustomed to white bread; but the Russian finds himself very healthy with it and desires no better. 4. Want of good nursing, and particularly of female attendance. The matter of this reproach would certainly not be justifiable, especially if it were true what Mr. Howard affirms of the hospital at Kherfon, that the nurses who wait on the patients are people who have been turned out of the regiments on account of their stupidity and drunkenness.

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our purpose, by enabling the reader to form a judgment of them all.

Even should the important question: Whether **FOUNDLING-HOSPITALS** destroy or preserve more human lives? be not at present generally determined, but found extremely problematical from more recent observations and enumerations; yet it seems to be agreed on, that the great institutes of this kind in the two chief cities of the russian empire have hitherto been incontestibly highly beneficial to it. The discoveries which gave occasion to the erection of that in Mosco, leave no doubt, that of all the children hitherto brought up in it, not the hundredth part would have been alive but for that institution; and that consequently, even in times of the greatest mortality, it preserves to the state a very considerable number of young citizens. But how much more profitable it must be when we consider it on the moral side, and think of the secret crimes that this institute has prevented, which since the foundation of it have been almost entirely unknown. The foundling-hospitals in Russia preserve not merely human beings to the state; they deliver to it citizens, free, industrious burghers, endowed with useful knowledge and abilities. For these and many other reasons, there can no longer be any

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question concerning their absolute utility: the only object of inquiry therefore is, whether or not they have produced proportionately as many good effects, as might reasonably be expected from the extraordinary means with which the empress Catharine, and the unexampled co-operation of a large and wealthy public, have supplied them.

In order to put the reader in a condition to answer this question himself, we should be glad, if we had room, to lay before him a full account of this institute, the principal object of it being more the cultivation than the mere preservation of the citizen *; but at present we must confine ourselves solely to the latter part of this great and comprehensive plan, namely, the preservation of the first physical existence, till the age when education properly begins.

The education-house at Mosco was founded in the year 1763, and stands on the bank of the Moskva, in one of the best quarters of that capital. The many and spacious buildings of which it consists, and the foundation whereof cost nearly as much as the superstructure itself, are, as well

* That this was really the main design in the foundation of these institutes is manifest from their very denomination. For, in public papers and records, they are never called foundling-hospitals, but always education-houses.

in regard to magnitude as to magnificence, unequalled in Europe for a similar destination. The whole forms a perfect quadrangle of five stories, the basement is devoted to the purposes of economy, the next three floors are inhabited by the children, and the uppermost contains the wards for the sick. In the middle of this quadrangle stands the magazine. The porter lives in a lodge at the entrance of one of the courts before the said quadrangle, where likewise the baptistery is built, and where the children must be delivered who are brought after the gates are shut, which is always done at nine o'clock in the evening. Over against the porter's lodge are the lying-in apartments or accoucheur-hospital, very commodiously fitted up. In what is called the corps-de-logis, but which is not yet entirely finished, standing in the forementioned court and connected with the square, is the church, one of the handsomest in Mosco. — Besides the numerous buildings belonging to the education-house within its walls which are about four versts in compass, it has without the city an excellent farm, on which are kept upwards of eighty cows of the breed of Holland and Kholmogor, the milk of which is entirely used for the first nourishment of the children*.

* Heym's topographical Encyclopædia of the russian empire, *art.* Moskva, p. 500.

Of the direction and the officers belonging to this grand institute, we shall mention only those who are entrusted with the care of health. These are: a doctor, three surgeons, an assistant-surgeon, and an apothecary, who all, the doctor excepted, live in or near the house. The physician's duty is to see to every thing in general that relates to health, to prescribe the necessary medicines for the hospital, to instruct the midwives, and to lend his assistance in difficult births. The surgeons must inspect the children who are brought into the education-house, send the healthy to the rooms devoted to the children, and the sick or suspected into the hospital, where they must be alternately present. The midwives, who, previously to their admission are examined by the physician, cannot be absent from the house without leave first obtained from the superintendant, and, according to their instruction, have the care of the lying-in women and the new-born children. For the infants, nurses, wet and dry, are provided; and every age of the boys as well as girls has its particular guardians of both sexes.

The foundling-hospital receives children at all hours of the day or night, without any question being put to the bringer, except whether the child has been baptized, and whether it has a name. Children may also be carried to the parish-priests, or to the monasteries and poor-houses

houses of the city, who immediately send them away to the foundling-hospital, where the deliverer receives two rubles for each child. The carriers of such children are by day and by night under the special protection of the police. At the reception of every child, the day, the time, and the sex are noted in a book, with all that the bringer declares of the circumstances of the child, the clothes and other articles he brings with it, and the birth-marks and tokens observed upon it. Hereupon the baptism ensues, if not already administered; the name is entered in the book, and a little crucifix is hung round its neck with the number under which it is registered. It is now examined by the surgeon, and brought to the childrens' rooms, where it receives new linen and swaddling-clothes from the magazine; meanwhile the articles of dress brought with it, if they be not too miserable, are deposited in a magazine apart, there to be kept.

The children are either suckled by strong and healthy nurses, each of whom can nourish two babes, or delivered to dry-nurses who bring them up with other food. The physical education alone continues two years, when they come into the great rooms. Till the sixth year boys and girls remain together, and during this period are habituated to easy employments. With the

seventh begins the moral and civil education; thenceforward the preservation of the physical existence is a subordinate object, and this is therefore the term we prescribed to ourselves for quitting for the present this institution *.

On the manner in which this beneficial plan is executed, we will hear at least one witness, by citing the judgment of a sagacious and attentive observer, who, being an Englishman and a traveller, could probably have no interest in dissembling the truth. "The rooms of the foundling-hospital," says Mr. Coxe †, "are lofty and large; the dormitories, which are separate from the work-rooms, are very airy, and the beds are not crowded: each foundling, even each infant, has a separate bed; the bedsteads are of iron; the sheets are changed every week, and the linen three times a week. In going over the rooms I was particularly struck with their neatness; even the nurseries were uncommonly clean, and without any unwholesome smells. No cradles are allowed, and rocking is particularly forbidden. The infants are not swaddled according to the

* General plan of the foundling-house at Mosco, in the *Neuveranderten Rufsland*, vol. ii. 40—47.

† *Travels through Poland, Russia, Sweden, and Denmark*, vol. ii. p. 63. 8vo, edit,

" custom

“ custom of the country, but loosely dressed.
 “ — I could be no judge merely in visiting the
 “ hospital, whether the children were well in-
 “ structed and the regulations well observed :
 “ but I was perfectly convinced from their be-
 “ haviour, that they were in general happy and
 “ contented, and could perceive from their looks
 “ that they were remarkably healthy. This
 “ latter circumstance must be owing to the un-
 “ common care which is paid to cleanliness,
 “ both in their persons and rooms.

“ In another visit which I paid to this hospital,
 “ I saw the foundlings at dinner : the girls and
 “ boys dine separately. The dining-rooms,
 “ which are upon the ground-floor, are large
 “ and vaulted, and distinct from their work-
 “ rooms. The first class sit at table ; the rest
 “ stand : the little children are attended by ser-
 “ vants ; but those of the first and second class
 “ alternately wait on each other. The dinner
 “ consisted of beef and mutton boiled in broth,
 “ with rice ; I tasted both, and they were re-
 “ markably good : the bread was very sweet ;
 “ and was baked in the house, chiefly by the
 “ foundlings. Each foundling has a napkin,
 “ pewter-plate, a knife, fork, and spoon : the
 “ napkin and table-cloth are clean three times in
 “ the week. They rise at six, dine at eleven,

“ and sup at six. The little children have bread
“ at seven, and at four. When they are not em-
“ ployed in their necessary occupations the
“ utmost freedom is allowed, and they are en-
“ couraged to be as much in the air as possible.
“ The whole was a lovely sight; and the coun-
“ tenances of the children expressed the utmost
“ content and happiness.”

The confessedly sound principles on which the system of physical education is built; the great means of relief which this establishment has at its disposal; the good management of it hitherto by distinguished patriots; the care, attendance, and cleanliness, which, from the testimony of all impartial observers, prevail there: — all these circumstances conspire in enabling us to conclude with the highest degree of probability, that this beneficial institution does not fall short of its primary and proximate aim: but certain data on this subject have not as yet come to the knowledge of the public. It would be of great service to the world, and at the same time redound to the honour of this institution, if necessary statements were given of the numbers received every year, and the other concerns of the house. — All that we know at present of it is, that, in the twenty years since its opening to the end of the year 1786, including those born in the
the

the house, it had admitted 37,607 children, of whom 1020 were sent out, and at the end of the last-mentioned year only 6080 were remaining. If this statement, in which we follow a very authentic writer *, be strictly accurate, the loss which this institution has sustained must surely be very considerable; but probably only a small part of it would fall upon the foundling-hospital. if we knew precisely the number of those who died immediately after their reception, or brought in with them the germ of dissolution. We shall not be in a condition to ascertain the real mortality of the house, till we are informed by just estimates how many of the children brought were declared after examination to be perfectly sound; the remainder which must be delivered into the hospital immediately after baptism, consists of certain victims to death; and none would be so unreasonable as to lay their loss to the account of a philanthropical institution, which enriches the country from year to year with an ever-increasing number of healthy, active, and industrious burghers.

The foundling-hospital of St. Petersburg, which is, properly speaking, only a division of that at Mosco, was founded in the year 1770, and in

* Georgi, beschreib. von St. Petersb. vol. i. p. 255.

1784 was endowed by imperial munificence, with a sumptuous edifice. The establishment is exactly like that of Mosco; the number of foundlings there at the end of the year 1788 amounted to 300. Here also the same unfortunate circumstance happens, that a great proportion of the children are brought thither sick; and many even without a spark of life remaining. — Besides these two great institutions, others are erected on the model of them in several towns of the empire, as at Tula, Kaluga, Yaroslaf, Kazan, &c.

In order to render the foundling-hospitals of still greater benefit, LYING-IN HOUSES are annexed to them, in which all pregnant women without distinction, on merely announcing themselves, are immediately admitted by the porter; and, without putting to them a question of any kind, are instantly, whether it be day or night, conducted to the midwifery rooms. To spare those who enter the confusion they would feel at being known, it is not only strictly forbidden to discover any curiosity about them, but it is at their option to keep their face covered during the whole time of their stay. The lying-in house is provided with all the requisite persons and instruments; on urgent occasions the midwives are assisted by the physician, who in cases of necessity

necessity must perform the operations himself. As the hour of delivery can scarcely be accurately ascertained, women are permitted to be in the hospital a week before and two weeks after lying-in, to which regulation, however, in extraordinary cases, exceptions are made. During this time the patients enjoy all the needful attendance and nursing. — At the foundling-hospital of St. Petersburg a proper person is appointed as teacher of the art of midwifery, for forming expert practitioners as well for the house as for the public in general.

The school of medicine and surgery at St. Petersburg has also a small lying-in house, capable of admitting eight or ten females at once, in the peculiar design of affording practical information to the pupils of this institution as for the sake of forming skilful accoucheurs. Here, likewise, the greatest secrecy is observed; when recovered the patients are discharged without fee or reward, and they are at liberty either to take their children with them or to leave them for the foundling-hospital.

Next to these institutions none deserve our attention more than the SMALL-POX HOSPITALS, erected in the view of extending the practice of inoculation. Russia, in the eighteenth century, appears to have the advantage over most other countries

countries in Europe, that establishments of general utility meet here proportionately with fewer difficulties, are encouraged with far greater munificence from the throne, and more quickly attain to a generally diffused operation. A remarkable instance of this is seen in the history of inoculation; a benefit which Russia owes to the enlightened administration, and to the personal example of Catharine II. and her imperial son.

Long ere lady Mary Wortly Montague in 1721 brought the art of inoculation from Constantinople to England, this mode of preservation was known to the oriental nations. From England the practice was spread into the other countries of Europe, but with very tardy progress; as in most of these countries not only the clergy but even physicians stood up in opposition to it, and acted on the prejudices of the people, always of themselves disposed to resist any innovation. Four-and-thirty years after the introduction of this happy discovery only 200,000 were reckoned to have been inoculated; and, during that space, the public confidence in it had so much abated, that for fifteen years it was almost entirely neglected. — Of all the provinces of the Russian empire Livonia was the first that employed this preservative. A physician in
the

the circle of Dorpat * made it here first known in the year 1756, and practised it with so much success in the country round him, that within eight years he had inoculated 1023 children, of whom only one died. In St. Petersburg the first public experiment was made in September 1768 on ten children, though since 1758 several trials had been hazarded by some physicians of the place, but without attracting observation. In the same year Catharine II. set a glorious and affecting example to her people, by submitting herself, together with her only son Paul Petrovitch, then fourteen years old, to inoculation. The operation was performed by our countryman Dr. Dimsdale †, then already famous by his successful practice of the art, who, in consequence of the prosperous termination of it, was rewarded in a truly imperial manner with riches and honours. In order to perpetuate the memorial of this event, so important to the whole nation, an anniversary thanksgiving was appointed to be kept. The great nobles of the em-

* The name of this person, who rendered such service to his country, ought not to be passed over in silence; it was Schulinus, who had already gained great reputation in those parts by his successful treatment of the natural small-pox. See concerning him, Gadebusch *Livonian Bibliotheca*, *art. Schulinus*, vol. i. p. 120.

† See *Life of Catharine II.* vol. i. p. 518.

pire, the inhabitants of the residence, all ranks and classes of people, seemed to vie with each other in following so illustrious an example. Not a single physician, not one ecclesiastic made any public opposition to inoculation; almost all of the former adopted it in their practice, and several among the latter recommended it even from the pulpit, to which the church service of the anniversary presented a fair opportunity. To this is even owing the valuable series of discourses which we have before made use of, and from which the present accounts are principally extracted*.

For the more active and rapid promotion of the practice among the poorer classes of people, a public institution for inoculating was erected in the year 1768 at the imperial expence in one of the out-parts of the residence, now known by the name of the Small-pox hospital, and where every month a certain number of children are inoculated and nursed for two weeks till their complete recovery. At first money was given to parents who brought their children

* Sermons by J. C. Grot, on inoculation of the small-pox, with particulars relating to the history of it in Russia, and an appendix on the mortality of the small-pox in Petersburg, as a help to the examination of the question concerning their harmlessness in Russia.

hither; but the numerous instances of the success of the artificial infection soon rendered this encouragement unnecessary. — Since the year 1783, the small-pox hospital has been under the inspection of the college of general provision. It at present admits twice a year, in spring and autumn, free of all expence, all children that are brought, and has a physician and a surgeon to attend them. The expences of this institution amount annually to 6000 rubles.

Shortly after the erection of this hospital, inoculation was also introduced into all the great imperial seminaries of education. From St. Petersburg it gradually spread into the interior of the empire. So early as the year 1768, baron von Asch introduced it into Kief. In the year 1772 the practice of inoculation entered Siberia; the empress even constituted in Irkutsk a public institution for that purpose. In this, within the first three years, not only of the Russians, but likewise of the nomadic tribes of those parts, 6768 persons of both sexes were inoculated. In a period of five years the number of them amounted to 15,580. In Kazan, likewise, a public inoculation hospital was founded by the governor of the place.

These institutions have since so greatly increased, that we are not in a capacity to give a complete list of them. Not only most of the

great towns, but even many villages and noble-men's estates are at present provided with these hospitals. Add to this, that the prejudices against inoculation are so totally vanished, and the conviction of its utility become so general, that there are but few parents, at least in the upper ranks, who omit to endeavour at ensuring their children in their earliest infancy, by this easy operation from the danger attending the natural infection. In several districts the country people, who can seldom rely on having the aid of a physician, have been taught to inoculate themselves, and they practice this method with the happiest effects. In Livonia, ever since 1769, pastor Eifen has acquired great merit by not only inoculating, but by inducing the boors, and especially the mothers, to employ that method under his direction. In the government of Irkutsk, M. Schilling, the staff-surgeon of the place, still employs himself in teaching the nomadic people, at their own request, the art of inoculation. From May to August 1791, he inoculated there in the circle of Barguzinsk 565 Buræts, 35 Tunguses of the steppes, and 20 rein-deer-Tunguses, altogether, therefore, 620 persons of both sexes, of whom only 6 died*.

* According to a Report made to the medical college, October 1791.

In order to enable us to judge of the effects that have arisen from these small-pox institutions since their introduction into the Russian empire, it will not be uninteresting to read the following result of the Petersburg small-pox hospital, drawn up by the academician Krafft, and incorporated in his third memoir on the lists of births and deaths published at St. Petersburg *.

In the eleven years from 1780 to 1790 there were inoculated in this institution 1570 children, 860 males, and 710 females, of whom four died. This proportion is as 25 to 10,000; or, of 1000 inoculated children, there die not quite 3. On an average it may be admitted that in Petersburg of 10,000 children attacked by the natural small-pox 1428 die; consequently, the proportion of the mortality of the natural small-pox to the mortality of the inoculated is as 1428 to 25, or as 57 to 1.

The number of children inoculated in this institution, on an average of eleven years, amounts annually to 143. Now Petersburg in the same period has yearly 6049 births, and consequently only the 42d child of all the births has enjoyed the benefit of this institution. — It is here to be remarked, that parents in easy circumstances have their children inoculated at home, and that

* Nova acta acad. scient. Petropol. tom. viii. p. 253.

therefore the universality of this practice cannot be judged of by the above proportion. — The age of the inoculated children was never under three and a half, and usually from three to ten years. Nine persons, however, were inoculated at the age of 16, two of 25, and one of 46.

It would be found very instructive if we were enabled to compare these statements with those of the small-pox hospitals in other towns of Russia. In that at Irkutsk, for example, in five years, from 1773 to 1776, and in the year 1779, in all 6009 persons were inoculated, of whom 43 died. Of 10,000 inoculated here then 71 were lost, or out of 1000 seven, as the mortality in the Petersburg small-pox hospital amounts only to three out of 1000. The mortality of the natural small-pox is known to be greater among the nomadic nations; and, besides, those inoculated at Irkutsk were probably for the most part grown persons.

We cannot close this head without mentioning the institutions against the most dreadful and destructive of all diseases; against a disease which though it appear but seldom in the civilized countries of our quarter of the world, yet by the devastation it makes, where it has once struck its root, whole generations are slain, and whole regions laid waste. Russia too has experienced

rienced this great public calamity, and has learnt to know the effects of the PLAGUE from the desolation it has occasioned: from her situation, her commerce, her borderers, and her wars, she is more exposed to this horrible contagion than other countries: it becomes naturally, therefore, one of the most important concerns of government to obstruct the communication of the infection by preventive institutions, and to collect practical rules which, in the lamentable case of its raging, may mitigate the general distress. The point of time since which this matter has become an important object of state policy is too near the present to allow us to forget it; and thanks to the regulations of Catharine II. and to the enlightened age in which we live, that this dreadful catastrophe at least did not pass by without benefit for futurity!

From more antient accounts we learn that Mosco had the misfortune in the last century to be ravaged by the plague: in the year 1654 it raged for three months, (July till September,) and did not entirely cease till between the 12th and 25th of December. In the two succeeding years it broke out in some of the southern districts, but never came to Novgorod. It therefore at that time took nearly the same route as it was found to do in the present century: but

as nobody then thought of minuting down the circumstances of that unhappy event, and the means of prevention that were then had recourse to, the benefits that might have accrued from that lamentable visitation were lost to posterity; and when Russia a hundred and sixteen years afterwards was afflicted with the same scourge, it was found necessary at once to make the people sensible of the baneful nature of the disease, and to find out new measures to be adopted against it. In order to give permanency to the usefulness of these institutions, the commissioners, consisting of the officers of state and physicians appointed to check and to heal the ravages of the plague, resolved to commit to the press all the regulations and writings that came out either during the distemper or after it had ceased, and to publish them together for the information of future times; and it is from this instructive collection that we shall here lay down some of the most prominent data as outlines of the history of that deplorable event*.

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* To this end the commissioners requested permission of the directing senate, and entrusted the publication to one of their members, the college-counsellor Athanasius Schafonsky, superior physician of the army-hospital. The work bears this title: *Opisanie moravoi yavui, &c.* that is, Account of the plague which raged at Mosco from the year

The plague made its first appearance during the former of the two turkish wars in Valakhia, and spread itself thence, through Moldavia, through Poland, and through Little Russia, to Siyeffsk and Briyansfk, two towns not far from the borders of the Ukraine. In Kief it lasted from August 1770 to the February following; it appeared, indeed, afresh in the ensuing summer, but was presently checked. The institutions were in general so efficacious in these parts, that only in Neshin a second rather severe attack of the plague was felt from July till November 1771.

1770 to 1772, with a supplement of all the regulations that were ordered to be observed for the extermination of it. Printed by sovereign command, in the year 1775, in Mosco, at the imperial university; 4to. pp. 652, without dedication, preface, or contents; with two copper plates. It contains, besides a two-fold description of the plague composed by the editor himself, 121 additional papers, as, the writings of the commissioners, the rest of their adopted regulations, the manifestoes, ukases, opinions of several physicians, and many other pieces relating to this calamitous event. — On account of the great extensiveness of the original, I have adhered solely to the accurate abstract, made with the most scrupulous attention and great sagacity by Mr. Bachmeister, which is to be seen in the fifth volume of his Russian bibliotheca, p. 287—318.

The case, however, was far otherwise at Mosco. In defiance of all precautions the plague reached the capital, where it was first observed, though but little, in November 1770, to be in some houses. But, on its breaking out on the 17th of December in the general army-hospital, and the head physician of it, M. Schafonsky, had informed the medical college of it on the 22d of December, after a consultation of eight doctors had made a declaration that this sickness was really the plague, that hospital was shut up, in which, of 27 patients, only 5 recovered. Not till after a quarantine of six weeks was the hospital opened again, and the building in which the plague had been was burnt. — The infection, according to evident traces, had been brought by people coming from parts that were the theatre of war.

In March 1771 it was first known, that ever since the beginning of the year an unusually great mortality had prevailed among the work-people of the great linen-manufactory. By insensible degrees this uncommon mortality was discovered in other quarters of the town. Now, in consequence of an examination made by physicians on the 11th of March, all the people were sent away from the manufactory as soon as possible.

possible; and the sound as well as the sick all kept under close inspection; but several had previously made their escape, and even people of the town had visited the manufactory to and fro. Thus, it is natural to suppose, that the infection was constantly spreading farther. — The magistracy now interposed; the police required an account of every distempered and dying person; and the senate convened a medical council of eleven physicians, who continued sitting till the appointment of the above-mentioned commission. This council, at its second meeting on the 23d of March, required that all workmen belonging to the linen manufactory should be removed from the city; an order which could not be strictly executed, as several of them were absolutely not to be found. On the 26th of March nine members of the medical council, to the interrogation of the governor of the city, feldt-marshal count Soltikof, sent a written answer that this malady was really the plague; the other two members were of a different opinion, to the great prejudice of the public, who agreed with them, and therefore neglected the necessary precautions. On the 31st of March, however, all the eleven members subscribed the proposed preservatives, which they

P 4

had

had unanimously consulted upon, from this dreadful distemper*.

The empress, in the mean time, seemed to surmise that all the applications hitherto employed would prove insufficient; accordingly on the 25th of March she issued an order to pursue much severer measures, and gave the execution of them to lieutenant-general Yeropkin, who undertook this important commission the 31st of March. The first thing he did was to place a state-officer in every quarter of the town as inspector of the malady, and all the physicians there were enjoined to pay obedience to his commands. From the daily lists of the deaths † was
seen

* These proposals relate mostly to cleanliness of the houses, streets, air, &c. The filling up the graves in which the dead bodies were deposited with lime was thought not advisable. The public places had been long before fumigated, but commonly with dung and other impure substances. Also an order came out in March to seal up all the public baths.

† These lists deserve, at least according to the months, to be inserted here, as they plainly shew the violence and vicissitudes of this horrid disease. It is only to be observed, that they are not entirely complete, as the circumstances shew, and as Schafonsky himself remarks. Many corpses were concealed and secretly interred; numbers of people had already left the city so early as July, and according to
Schafon-

seen indeed the progress of the pestilence; but as till then no bills of mortality had ever been framed in Mosco, there were no means of comparing the number of deaths with that of ordinary years.

In regard to the extent and population of the city, the number of the deaths in April 1771 was reckoned moderate; and it appears that the existence of the plague was at that time more doubted of than ever it had been before. In the mean time an order signed by the empress's own hand came out to carry all bodies out of town for burial; also some of the entrances to the city were fastened up.

During the months of April and May the plague had almost entirely ceased among the above-mentioned people of the linen-manufactory in the monasteries which served them for hospitals; and in the city it was mistaken, as the
inhabit-

Schafonsky's own declaration; but few inhabitants were in September left in the city. Now, seeing, as Mr. Bachmeister observes, that in September above 21,000 persons died, and the usual population amounting to upwards of 400,000, then in that one month, not the twentieth, but perhaps the sixth, perhaps the fifth, or even a far greater part of the then present inhabitants, must have died. — The state of the population after the plague may be seen from the summary statement of the following years. During the
latter

inhabitants were inexhaustible in inventions to give it another appearance. — In June it was ordered

latter (1775) the court was at Mosco, and consequently the number of inhabitants greater than ordinary.

In the year 1771.	DEATHS		Together.	BIRTHS
	In the city.	In hospitals and quarantines.		
April - - -	665	79	744	—
May - - -	795	56	851	—
June - - -	994	105	1099	—
July - - -	1410	293	1708	—
August - - -	6423	845	7268	—
September -	19761	1640	21401	—
October - -	14935	2626	17561	—
November -	3466	1769	5235	—
December -	319	486	805	—
Totals	48768	7904	56672	—
1772				—
January - -	209	121	330	—
February - -	274	78	352	—
March - - -	304	30	334	—
April - - -	374	—	374	—
May - - -	285	—	285	—
June - - -	247	—	247	—
July - - -	276	—	276	85
August - - -	354	—	354	249
September -	238	—	238	231
October - -	268	—	268	363
November -	284	—	284	342
December -	350	—	350	240
Totals	3363	229	3592	1510
1773	—	—	7195	3989
1774	—	—	7527	3395
1775	—	—	6559	2108
to the end of August				In

ordered to search for the scattered clothes and other matters belonging to the linen manufacturers and to burn them : but this, like many other salutary ordinances, had a direct contrary effect ; for now these things were secretly conveyed into other houses, and thus spread the infection the more. As the flight of the rich and noble, which had continued some months, must have carried the sickness into the country, a command was issued in August to visit their servants and to detain the suspected ; the rest had liberty to go away. Now likewise the common tipping-houses were shut up, and the order for sealing up the baths was repeated. — In this month the ravages made by the plague were manifested in a very dreadful manner ; many of the inhabitants therefore endeavoured to provide for their safety, by locking up their houses and court-yards. The common people regarded all the applications recommended by the magistracy only with great dislike. They were principally set against the sick-houses and quarantines, which they considered as unnecessary inventions of the

In the four years from 1783 to 1786, the number of births amounted to 27,240, and the deaths were 19,922 ; consequently, on an average, the annual number of births 6810 ; of deaths 4980.

physicians ;

physicians; they resisted the visiting of the sick, and would have murdered the college-counsellor Schafonsky, if an inspector of the quarter had not come to his rescue. On the other hand, the sectarists known by the name of *raskolniks*, distinguished themselves from the great multitude by their docility and obedience. All of that sect who dwelt in Mosco, and many of them in its vicinity, maintained an infirmary and a quarantine-house for themselves, and at their own expence without the city.

The month of September was the most terrible of all. To the devastations of the plague, which had now risen to their height, was added the well-known insurrection of the populace, in which the archbishop of Mosco lost his life, on the 16th of September, and which probably could not have been so easily quelled by such a handful of troops, if by the flights and deaths the number of the people had not been much diminished. — The empress, greatly afflicted at this lamentable state of things, resolved to set out for Mosco herself; but this journey meeting with insurmountable difficulties, she dispatched count (afterwards prince) Orloff thither, with full powers to put in execution every thing he should think necessary to the extirpation of this dreadful calamity. His presence, and the regulations adopted

adopted by him, were soon attended with beneficial effects. Several of those who had quitted the city now returned, and even the behaviour of the common people took a different turn.

Two boards of commissioners were now constituted, who entered on their employment the 12th of October, the one for preventing the contagion, and the other for counteracting its effects. They were to make all the regulations they could devise for these purposes; and all physicians, apothecaries, hospitals, &c. were made dependent on them. The executive commission, beside all other affairs of police, were to see to the due performance of all that the other two commissions required. The former immediately published a printed paper of directions what means to use as preservatives from the plague, and pointing out to such as were already attacked by it, how they themselves could most contribute to their recovery. As the continued abhorrence of the inhabitants against the public hospitals occasioned perpetual concealments, it was thought expedient to give to every person, on his discharge, in consequence of a cure, besides the ordinary allowance of provision and new clothing, a gratuity of five, or if he were married, ten rubles. On this, there were doubtless a great number of sick; but many healthy persons came likewise,

likewise, feigning themselves to be sick from motives of covetousness. For the children of parents who had died of the plague, prince Orloff caused the erection of a peculiar orphan-house. After having acquitted himself of these and many other perilous attempts, he returned to St. Petersburg on the 21st of November.

By this time the unfortunate inhabitants of Mosco were at length convinced of their miserable error concerning the nature of this distemper. Their mansuetude and readiness to concur in all the measures adopted by government, produced a visible diminution in the number of deaths from day to day, till at length in January 1772, not a trace of the pestilence remained.

That I may give my readers some idea of the condition of this great and populous city during the prevalence of this tremendous scourge, and for some time after, I shall present only some striking features from the picture of their distress, which probably no one will read without horror. — A total stop was put to innumerable branches of business and the several occupations of social life, and new ones rose up in their stead. Many houses were shut up, in the streets were seen but few passengers, and every day was prolific in new scenes of desolation and affright. — To prevent a scarcity of provisions the government erected

erected large houses, in which the necessary articles of consumption were deposited. The loss of employment had occasioned great distress to numbers of people; they were set to work in heightening the wall and deepening the ditch round what is called the chamber-college. In spite of all these methods and many others, it was found necessary to denounce the penalty of death against such as should convey away goods and property belonging to infected persons from the houses that were standing empty, or open graves for despoiling the bodies of such as had died of the plague. — Dwelling-houses or courts, in which only some of their inhabitants had died of the distemper, were computed at upwards of 6000, and in which they all died, at more than 3000. Now, as Mosco before the eruption of the plague contained 12,538 dwelling-houses, it follows, that not the fourth part of them remained free from that visitation. — From April 1771 to the end of February 1772, in the sick-houses and quarantines 12,565 persons were maintained at the expence of the crown.

Such was the state of the city during that doleful period: and how many new regulations and troubles did it not cost to restore the former establishments; to reduce all businesses and employments to the channel which they had left;

to

to revive trade and commerce; and to do all this with safety and without danger of a second desolation! The most urgent and indispensable measures to be taken were those relating to the purification of infected houses*, which they began to do on the 12th of December 1771, and continued till the following spring. This was conducted by clearing them of all infected articles; by letting in the fresh air on all sides, by exposing them to the severities of the frost, by fumigations†, and other methods. — The
thirteen

* Among the buildings which actually underwent purification were 117 churches which had lost their priests or church-officers by the plague, and on that account had been sealed up; 45 courts of judicature, magistracy-houses, and 46 other public-offices, comprehending those buildings which had been devoted to public uses only on account of the distemper; as for example several monasteries and the house of prince Orloff, which he had given up to be a sick-house for the noblesse; 7000 dwelling-houses or courts, which were thought worth purifying, and above 2000 bad or ruinous habitations, which were totally demolished; 113 manufactories, whereof 68 were for the weaving of linen, woollen, and silk, altogether having 2716 looms.

† The commission for quelling the contagion caused three receipts for making the fumigatory powders to be published, and the powders themselves to be sold at a low price in all the apothekes, and to be distributed gratis to the poor. The commission, of whose invention they were, resolved first to be fully convinced of the beneficial effects of them by experience.

thirteen burial-places assigned for those who died of the plague were raised more than an arshine in height by fresh earth, which alone cost 35,000 rubles. — On the total extinction of all remains of the pestilential poison, regard was particularly had to the corpses, which, to save themselves from the quarantaines, the inhabitants had either buried in their houses or thrown into concealed places, and consequently on the return of spring might be the occasion of mortal exhalations. By the vigorous measures that were taken to the discovery of them near a thousand corpses made their appearance, with which, as they were mostly found without coffins, various proceedings were adopted. Those which had lain within the dwellings, were ordered to be taken by the Katersh-

perience. They therefore took some clothes of persons who had died of the plague, that were impregnated with the perspired-vapour, and on which were apparent marks of the matter that had issued from buboes and carbuncles; hung them up in a house in which all the inhabitants had died of the plague; fumigated them for four days, twice each day, thoroughly with these powders; caused them afterwards to be aired for six days, and gave them to seven people to put on, who had forfeited their lives, and were obliged to wear them sixteen days successively in the same house, nevertheless they all remained free from any infection, and after performing a quarantine of a fortnight, they were allowed to mix with other healthy people.

niks (a species of galley-slaves) appointed for that purpose, with a part of the surrounding earth, in separate boxes or shells, to the usual burial-places, and there to burn the carts on which they were brought. The pits out of which such bodies had been drawn were carefully filled up with earth. While thus employed, the Katerfhniks were made to wear waxed clothes and gloves, to keep ginger and other spices in their mouths, and to stop their ears and nostrils with cotton steeped in vinegar. Lastly, they were obliged to wash themselves with vinegar, and to remain for at least eight days in a place apart from the town. On the other hand, those bodies which lay without the buildings, were suffered to remain unmoved; and were only covered to the height of an arshine with chalk and rubbish. Though this interment lasted till the ensuing spring, yet, from the great precautions that were taken, not one of the many labourers, who could not avoid the contact with the dead bodies, caught any infection. — Notwithstanding the good reasons for supposing every spark of the contagion to be utterly extinct, yet the regulations were kept in force till the summer of 1772.

From the first of December of that year the city of Mosco was declared to be free from the plague,

plague, and a sound place, and the greater part of the regulations that had been adopted against it were gradually diminished; yet the commission for stopping the plague continued till the 6th of September 1775, at which period it, together with all the quarantaines and post-stations established within the empire on account of the plague, were abolished by an ukase from the senate. — The expences occasioned by this public calamity to the state were very heavy; that for the preservation of Mosco alone cost the crown 400,000 rubles.

After perusing this brief account, nobody will be surpris'd that it was found impossible to stifle the pestilence in its birth. Besides the causes which appear from the foregoing narrative, one of the greatest obstacles was in the local position of Mosco, which is 36 versts in circumference, and cannot with so much propriety be called a city as the first province of the empire. The majority of the inhabitants are not under the jurisdiction of the corporation, and the magistrates have no power over their entering or quitting the city. It was these people who, in the sequel, when they perceived the danger and would not conform to the ordinances that were issued, hastened in crowds to their homes, and thereby propagated the contagion in the govern-

ments of Mosco, Smolensk, Nishney-Novgorod, Kazan, and Voronetch. To prevent these disorders would have required half an army; whereas at that time, on account of the war, there was but one regiment of infantry, and a few small companies of soldiers in Mosco. It was even found necessary, as many of these died in the road, to raise a police-battalion in the capital, for guarding the posts, and as much as possible to preserve tranquillity and order.

Admirable and humane as the regulations and sacrifices made on the part of government on this occasion were, not less so were the pains that were taken by the commissioners for rendering this dreadful experience beneficial to posterity. The collection of memorials which they published on this unhappy event contains, besides the prescriptions peculiar to the circumstances as they arose, in a copious narrative of practical observations and consequences, a multitude also of excellent rules which may serve as a pattern and foundation for the methods to be pursued in similar cases. Among them are, a comprehensive medical description of the plague, its nature, causes, characteristics, contingencies, and operations; the means of preservation, &c.

— Directions drawn up by 23 physicians and

surgeons for the conduct of common people infected by the disease, and what remedies they ought to use. — A pastoral letter from the archbishops to the priests, directing them how to preserve themselves from infection in the discharge of their functions. — A complete description of the method of proceeding observed in the pest-houses. — An instruction shewing how the relicks of infectious matter may be expelled from houses and goods. — Descriptions and plans of quarantaines and houses for the sick, with several other particulars. — The patriotic personages, who brought this useful undertaking to effect, have the greater claim on the gratitude of their country, as it has frequently since been enabled to perceive the good effects of their advice*.

In order, however, to guard as much as possible against similar events, and even to prevent the communication of the plague, since the acquisition of the Otchakof-steppe, and the provinces from Poland, three permanent quarantaines have been erected along the frontiers of

* In the autumn of 1772, and in December 1773, the plague made its appearance in some of the southern districts of the empire, particularly at Killiar and Mosdok; but by the prescriptions of these commissioners it was soon extirpated and prevented entirely from spreading farther.

Russia and Turkey; namely, in the harbour of Odessa (formerly Hadshibey) on the Euxine, in the city of Yampol in the government of Brazlau, and in the village of Shvanetz in the government of Podolia. Each of these quarantaines has a president, an inspector, a staff-surgeon with an assistant, a translator, &c. and a company of 200 soldiers, with their proper officers. The expences of the establishment of each of these quarantaines amount to 3475 rubles, in which, however, the garniture, provisions, and ammunition of the company are not comprised. Besides the sum allotted for medicaments, the governor of every government, that is furnished with a quarantaine, is obliged, in case of emergency, immediately to procure all proper requisites, and to demand medicines from the medical people in office*.

All the establishments which we have hitherto been describing for preserving the population have properly no other aim than to the health of the inhabitants; but, besides sickness and death, there are numberless other evils, physical and moral, which prevent the increase of population. A circumstantial detail of all the subjects that lie within the province of the medical-police, is

* Ukase of the 18th of August 1795. Journal von Russland, tom. v. p. 178—184.

beyond the stated limits of our plan, which comprehends too many articles to allow of their being all complete. We shall, therefore, confine ourselves to a short and abrupt specification of the most material of these impediments, so far as they concern the population of the empire in general.

Scarcity, bad quality, and dearness of provisions, fall immediately under this rubric. — In a country of such vast extent as the russian empire, the diversity of climate and soil must naturally occasion a very striking inequality in regard to the quantity, the goodness, and the price of the various articles of food; but this very inequality facilitates to a wise administration the means of preventing a general scarcity, as the superfluity of one region is made to balance the deficiencies of another. The greater part of the russian empire is so abundant in such products as are of general and indispensable consumption, as to have sufficient for bartering against such as may be wanting, and also for supplying the poorer provinces*. Only the regions that lie most to the north

* Concerning the extreme cheapness of the necessaries of life in the interior provinces, many examples may be seen in the journals of the academical travellers. At Krasnoyarsk, for instance, about the year 1772 a pood of rye-flour cost

north and to the east are so sparingly provided by nature, that the subsistence of their inhabitants depends on the importation from other governments; but this unavoidable disadvantage is greatly alleviated by navigable rivers and canals, by good roads, by the ever-increasing commerce of the country, and by the free communication encouraged by the government between the several provinces of the empire. Instead of the numerous intermediate tolls, which in many other countries encumber the distribution of the articles for home consumption, in Russia no pains are spared to facilitate and to secure by laws the beneficial conjunction of all the parts of this prodigious empire. From the coasts of the Baltic to the shores of the eastern

from 2 to 3 kopeeks, of wheat-flour about 5 kopeeks, of butchers'-meat from 15 to 25 kopeeks; a cow was to be bought for a ruble, a kid for 15 kopeeks at the utmost, &c. Pallas, travels, vol. iii. p. 5—12. — Since that time the prices have risen somewhat but not considerably. — Fish in many parts are scarcely of any value at all. In several provinces, where the corn cannot be disposed of in the vicinity, the price is incredibly low. In others all sorts of game are in such astonishing plenty that there are no purchasers for it. — In general all the necessaries of life in the interior of Russia (some great towns excepted) are cheaper than in any other country in Europe.

ocean

ocean the merchant can here transport his commodities without once being obliged to submit them to visitation.

In order, however, not to render the support of the inhabitant entirely dependent on the capricious course and the fluctuating relations of commerce, the administration has adopted the prudent measure of establishing in every government a principal and several smaller granaries; and in the larger towns are public magazines, from which the poorer classes of people may be supplied with the two most indispensable necessities, meal and fire-wood, in moderate quantities, and at a reasonable price; the crown merely repaying itself the capital advanced, without requiring any compensation for the expence of carriage, storing up, and preserving, or the customary duties. By these and several other regulations, which mostly owe their existence to the late empress, it is so managed, that a total and absolute dearth of bread is but rarely felt in particular circles of the poorer governments, whereas formerly it was not unusual in the northernmost provinces, to make up for the failure of flour by pounded tree-bark and other unnatural kinds of aliment*.

By

* It is, however, still a question, whether this *unusual* food be also really *unnatural*, that is, whether it be prejudicial to health and detrimental to population. — That a whole

By the extensive practice of cultivating potatoes, a new resource is afforded to the people of these countries for ensuring their support; and also the gradual transition of the nations of the steppes from the nomadic way of life to the practice of agriculture is continually opening a more comfortable prospect for the future.

whole people in the *constant* use of such diet could lose nothing of its physical strength and vigour, we have remarkable instances in several of the northern nations, and particularly the Dalecarlians in Sweden. "The Dalecarlians," says a very accurate observer, who spent a long time in that country, "inhabit the most unfruitful and mountainous part of the kingdom. The summits of their mountains are covered with eternal snow; a long and hard winter clothes even their vallies in the same dismal garb. Far from affording them any of the accommodations of life, their inhospitable clime scarcely yields them those humble supplies, which by the more southern nations of Europe are commonly called its first indispensable necessities. For want of corn they are forced to mix their bread with the bark of certain trees; and even this wretched diet constitutes their sole nourishment. Unacquainted with the arts of the second order which provide for the conveniences of life, and from the nature of their soil excluded from agriculture, they devote themselves almost entirely to the labours of the mines. From their infancy inured to every kind of hardship, they compose, however, of all the inhabitants of Sweden, the stoutest and the boldest race of men," &c. *Histoire de la dernière révolution de Suede, en 1772, p. 157.*

A second

A second very material impediment to population is the national propensity to inflammatory liquors. This propensity, which seems peculiar to the northern nations, and in the eyes of a philosophical observer may be defended by a number of concurrent circumstances, is nevertheless an important object to the government, which in the increase of the revenue obtains but a very lamentable compensation for the loss it suffers in the numbers, strength, durability, and service of its subjects. We have heretofore endeavoured to give a sensible representation in figures of the worst side of this loss by a calculation in all probability not exaggerated; no farther remark is therefore necessary here for rendering more apparent the extent and the effects of this evil. Indeed the government, by mere ordinances, can in this matter do little or nothing: the total privation of a liquor really wholesome to the northern countryman would be in many respects impracticable, and would be scarcely advisable were it even possible. The result of the matter then is this, to endeavour at some means for setting bounds to the intemperate use of it; and this is not the work of ten or a dozen years. To alter the manners of a people requires greater and more powerful motives than can be brought into action within the
space

space of one generation. Laws, religion, and education are certainly powerful means, when they combine to one general aim; but their effects will not be visible till the second or third generation; and even then only under the pre-supposition that civil prosperity has elevated in the great body of the people the sentiment of human dignity, and called forth an inclination for the nobler satisfactions of life*.

Forced and unequal marriages are likewise a hindrance to population, which the government should oppose as far as possible. It is well known to be not unusual among the common people in Russia for a young lad to connect himself with a much older woman, for the sake of bringing into the family one person more that is able to work; an evil arising for the most part from the covetousness of the father, and besides the detriment it occasions to population has also a pernicious influence on morals. — In many parts of the country, where the boors pay their lords a pecu-

* See two excellent treatises relative to this subject: *Revolutions in the diet of Europe*, for these 300 years past, by professor Leidenfröst; in Schlätzer's literary correspondence, tom. viii. book 44, p. 93. — and pieces by the court-counsellor Michaelis of Gottingen, on the methods of weaning a nation from brandy; in Schlätzer's book which we have so often quoted: On the innoxiousness of the small-pox in Russia.

niary tax, in return receiving passports with which they may follow their trade all over the empire without molestation, the emigrations occasioned in this manner are the cause of unfruitful marriages. Apart from his wife for whole years together, the countryman roams about the distant provinces, till the best years of his life are over; and the state not unfrequently loses all the benefit that might reasonably be expected from such an union *. — Sometimes hard-hearted noblemen refuse to let a young woman marry when her suitor is a youth belonging to another estate, or only consent to such a marriage on condition that she bring another girl in her place, or pay a compensation in money. — In some provinces it was formerly the custom for people who were desirous to marry, to ask permission of the governor or commander of the town, for which they were obliged to pay a fee either in money or in cattle †. This pernicious and oppressive practice, however, Catharine II. entirely abolished by the manifesto of grace of the year 1775. — The purchase of wives which is customary among the Samoyedes, the Ostiaks, the Mordvines, the Tschuvasches, Vogules,

* Instruction for framing a code of laws, sect. 269—271.

† Hupel's political constitution of the russian empire, tom. i. p. 599.

Tunguses, Votiaks, Buræts, and several other tartarian tribes, cannot be so easily suppressed as an old national practice to which uncultivated people are known to be attached with a sort of religious reverence; yet there are some races, for instance, among the Tartars, who have voluntarily and of their own accord relinquished this infamous traffic *. — The question, whether the polygamy of the mohammedan and heathenish nations be favourable or detrimental to population, can scarcely be solved with any certainty, as no lists of births and deaths are kept in unchristian countries; it is however a problem, the solution whereof cannot be uninteresting to the state.

The clergy in Russia, it is well known, occasion no remarkable disadvantage to population, as all secular priests, and consequently by far the greater part of that body, are at liberty to marry. The celibacy of the monks is by the wise restrictions of the monastic life upon the whole of no significance. — Far more sensible, on the other hand, is the loss which population sustains by the soldiery. So long as war continues to be a necessary evil, this detriment cannot indeed be entirely annihilated: but its noxious effects may

* Pallas, travels, tom. iii. p. 400.

be greatly mitigated by prudent and humane regulations. The loss of men in fighting against the enemies of the country is a sacrifice made by the state for the preservation of the whole, and for which it is compensated by advantages which in a short time repair the population again; but the loss which the army sustains in levying recruits, in quarters of cantonment, in hospitals, and on marches, is attended with no compensation to the state, and therefore can never be guarded against with sufficient precaution. — The regulation which aims at reducing the celibacy of the russian armies and fleets is highly worthy of imitation. A great part of the soldiers are actually married; several border-regiments and garrison-battalions have pieces of land allotted to them for their support in lieu of pay, or in addition to it, where they are at once useful to agriculture and to population. According to an estimate made some years ago, it was reckoned that in the field regiments alone and a few garrisons, about 18,000 sons of soldiers are taught and maintained at the expence of the state in schools appointed for that purpose*; similar institutions are kept up for all the regiments of guards.

* On the population of the russian empire; in Hupel's northern miscellanies, tom. i. p. 125.

Lastly,

Lastly, the hard treatment to which the children of the common people are exposed in their early infancy may be reckoned among the general impediments to population. True it is that they are steeled and hardened by this means for the maturer age, against the changes of climate and the vicissitudes of weather, to perseverance, to toil, and patient suffering; but what numbers of them perish in the seasoning, whose weaker frame would have been just as useful to the state! Nor did this remark escape the discernment of Catharine II. "The boors," says the Instruction*, "have, generally speaking, twelve, fifteen, to twenty children by one marriage; but it rarely happens that the fourth part of them reach maturity. A fault must therefore necessarily lie somewhere, either in regard to nourishment, manner of life, or education, by which this hope of the country is cut off. In what a flourishing state should we behold the empire, if by wise institutions we could obviate or prevent such a destructive evil!"

These may perhaps be the most general and most material impediments to the progress of population. Against most of them the government has endeavoured to apply the most effectual

* Instruction for framing a code of laws, chap. xii. sect. 266.

remedies ; but institutions, abuses, and habits, which have become inveterate by the practice of successive ages, are not to be rooted out in the space of a small number of years. No prince in modern times has ever made the subject of population so intimate a concern of government as the late empress. From the first moment of her reign it was one of the favourite objects of her great and active mind. Not content with having ensured the preservation of the inhabitants, and weakened or annihilated the obstacles to population, she moreover applied millions of rubles to the purpose of rearing useful burghers in the empire, and TO INCREASE THE POPULATION BY AN ACCESSION FROM WITHOUT. — This method, the most difficult and tedious of all, was however not solely directed to so simple an end ; by the acquisition and distribution of industrious people of good morals, the seed of a superior civilization would naturally at the same time be sown among the inhabitants of those waste regions where it grew up and flourished under the benign and fostering sceptre of that monarch. The account of that remarkable creation is too interesting a fragment of the history of civilization in the russian empire, to be here passed over in total silence.

So early in her reign as December 1762, Catharine the second published a manifesto, in-

viting foreigners upon advantageous terms to come and settle in her dominions. In July 1763 the empress constituted a tutelary chancery for the protection of foreigners, invested with equal privileges with the other colleges of the empire. The main design of this institution was to take the foreigners into its protection immediately on their setting foot in Russia, and forward them according to the directions contained in the manifesto, to the place of their destination. It received annually 200,000 rubles, which, besides the purchase of a building for the use of the chancery, was to be solely employed in providing seed-corn, cow-houses, implements of husbandry, &c. for the colonists, and in the erection of manufactories. The tutelary chancery were enjoined to procure intelligence concerning all waste and untenanted places, to direct the construction of new establishments, to watch over their maintenance and advancement, and accordingly to keep up a correspondence with the russian ministers at foreign courts. They afterwards received an exemption from all responsibility excepting to the empress herself.

Shortly after a second manifesto appeared, more accurately defining the advantages and gratuities under which foreigners were invited to settle in the russian empire. As this state-paper has been adopted as the basis of all later colonizings,

colonizings, and the precepts contained in it form in some degree the civil constitution of a numerous and by no means insignificant class of people; it will not be superfluous to give here its most material particulars in a short abstract.

Foreigners of all denominations may settle in whatever part of the empire they please, and to that end need only apply either directly to the tutelary chancery, or in the frontier-towns to the governors and commanders. If their means be not competent to the journey, they will be furnished with money by the russian ministers and residents at foreign courts; and conveyed at the imperial expence to Russia. — Exemption from taxes for a stated time, which, according to the standard of utility in the colonies, is set down at five, ten, and thirty years*; free dwelling for one half year, dating from the day of arrival. — To those who intended to follow the farming business or some trade or manufactures, a tract of arable land adequate to their purposes is allotted, and all necessary advances at their setting out. For the erecting of a dwelling-house, for the purchase of live stock, implements, vessels, and other materials, the necessary money will be ad-

* Most of the colonies, however, after that time was elapsed, had a farther grant of immunity from all taxes of whatever nature, for the same number of years as before.

vanced without interest from the imperial coffers, which after the expiration of ten years is to be paid at three several instalments. — The internal constitution of their jurisdiction is left to the option of the colonists who establish themselves in whole villages; but always in submission to the common law of the empire. — Importation of property duty-free, and even a quantity of commodities, the value of which for a family shall not exceed three hundred rubles. — Exemption from civil and military service. — Refreshment-money and travelling expences from the frontiers of the empire to the place of their destination. — Free sale and exemption from duties for ten years on the exportation of all articles in the colonies which have not hitherto been produced or wrought up in Russia. — Foreign capitalists who set up fabrics, manufactories, or workshops, may buy as many boors and vassals as are requisite to their undertaking. — The colonies may keep fairs and markets without paying any toll. — All these advantages extend also to the children of the new settlers, even though they be born in Russia. Their years of exemption are to be reckoned from the arrival of their parents or ancestors; after the expiration whereof they are all bound to pay the taxes and services that are customary in the country: those who are desirous

desirous of quitting the empire are at liberty to do so, but on condition that after a stay of five years they pay the fifth; after having been settled from five to ten years, the tenth part of the property they have acquired in the country, into the imperial treasury. Whoever requires distinct privileges, beyond what are granted in the manifesto, may apply for that purpose to the tutelary chancery*.

These invitations and advantages have drawn a great multitude of foreigners, particularly Germans, into Russia. The parts in which they settled to the largest amount were the governments of St. Petersburg, Voronetch, Tschernigof, Ekatarinoslaf, and Saratof. The most numerous colonies fixed upon the last of these on both shores of the Volga and the Medveditza; on which account it was found necessary to erect there a comptoir of the tutelary chancery. After the introduction of the new viceroyalties this department was however abolished as useless, and all the colonies were put under the common jurisdiction. On this occasion the empress remitted to the colonists of Saratof, who, on account of the inconveniences they experienced from their situation and the unsuitness of the soil

* Manifesto and ukase concerning the tutelary chancery.

for the purposes of agriculture in the parts where they had settled, had been obliged to remove to other districts; the whole of the expences of building their houses, amounting to the sum of 1,025,479 rubles*.

The colonists in the government of Saratof mostly took to agriculture and the breeding of cattle; yet they have among them many expert handicraftsmen, who have settled in the neighbouring towns, where their exquisite workmanship procures them an ample income. But the little manufacturing town of Sarepta, built by the evangelical brethren, or Moravians, is in an eminently flourishing state, the neat pieces of workmanship executed there being disposed of over all Russia; on which account they have also established considerable warehouses in St. Petersburg, Reval, and several other towns. — Since the abolition of the tutelary chancery, the colonists, as debtors to the crown, are under the superintendence of the office of exchequer; but matters of police and law are decided by the circle-magistracy and other courts. Each colony has, besides, what is called a colony-court, consisting of a president annually chosen by the community, with some assessors and elders. The

* Ukase bearing date the 20th of April 1782.

ecclesiastical constitution is framed upon the mode of religion which each colony professes; they consist of 57 lutheran, 13 calvinistic, 30 catholic, and one mixed. The five lutheran and the three calvinistic clergymen, are under the authority of the college of justice at St. Petersburg, which hitherto supplies the place of a chief consistory; the four catholic priests, one of whom is always superior, are dependent on the archbishop of Mohilef. All the colonies in the government of Saratof, amounting to 101 in number, contained in the year 1790 together 5624 families, which consisted of 30,932 persons*.

In the government of St. Petersburg the colonists chiefly follow agriculture and gardening; as the products of their industry fetch a good price in the residence, accordingly they all live in easy circumstances. In the government of Tschernigof, where their number amounts to about 3000, they form five villages, having two churches, one served by a lutheran, and the other by a catholic divine. — But no where is

* Heym's Encyclopædia of the russian empire, p. 137. — Former but very circumstantial accounts of the colonies on the Volga may be seen in Pallas's travels, tom. iii. p. 608 — 618. And of the colony of the moravian brethren at Sarepta, id. ib. tom. iii. p. 560 to 567.

the mixture of nations more motley and curious than in the government of Ekatarinossaf, which is more than half inhabited by colonists. We meet here Germans, Swedes, Italians, german Mennonists, Greeks, Bulgarians, Serbians, Arnauts, Albaneses, and Armenians. The last particularly are not only the most numerous, but likewise in many respects the most useful of the colonists of these parts. When the peninsula of the Krimea, in the turkish war preceding the last, was harassed by intestine commotions, these laborious and peaceable people petitioned for protection and an asylum in the russian territory; the empress granted them both, and thus arose the flourishing colony at Naschitschevan, which now holds no inconsiderable a place among the industrious manufacturing towns of the empire.

Besides the great number of foreign settlers who came to Russia in consequence of the above-mentioned invitations, and were there established at the expence of the state, the reputation alone of Catharine's wise and benign administration annually attracted a very considerable number of foreigners to her dominions. A country which affords so many resources to industry; in which it is always very easy, with any degree of diligence and merit, to arrive at respect and competence; where a complete toleration and an almost unbounded

bounded freedom of trade subsist, and where the government so willingly receives every foreigner: — such a country as this must naturally, amidst the oppressions and shocks which are felt in a great part of Europe, be a welcome to thousands of mankind denied protection or bread in their own. Indeed this slow and scarcely perceptible increase which the population of the russian empire receives from year to year, is far greater than would at first be imagined, and enriches not only the countries on the coasts, but even the inland provinces of the empire.

Many other means successfully employed by the administration for augmenting the mass of people must be here passed over in silence, in order not to entangle ourselves in too circumstantial an account. Among these are the encouragement and multiplication of the branches of livelihood, whereby the number of persons in good circumstances is increased as the most effectual incitement to matrimony; also the useful occupation of criminals, who, instead of being rendered unserviceable to civil society, are either employed in the public works or in the colonization of desert regions. This latter method, which has been practised in modern times by England with great success, has been long pursued

fued in Russia, to the very material benefit of the population of the empire. There, in the milder regions of Siberia, where the teeming but uncultivated earth is obliged to confine within itself its luxuriant riches, the exile, who by his vices or crimes has forfeited the protection of society, finds a fresh opportunity for becoming happy himself, and useful to the community, by a numerous and better progeny. Like the other colonists the state provides for these unfortunate beings, by furnishing them with the means of future comfort. On their settling they are supplied with money and materials; and for the three first years receive also an ample store of provisions. — In consequence of these wise and humane principles Siberia throughout has already gained much in culture. “If we consider,” says an eye-witness of these useful colonies *, “that Siberia, not quite two hundred years ago, was a wilderness utterly unknown, and in point of population was even far behind the almost desert tracts of North America, we may justly be astonished at the present state of this part of the world and at the multitude of its Russian inhabitants, who in numbers greatly

* Pallas, travels; tom. ii. p. 513. tom. iii. p. 7.

“exceed

“ exceed the natives. Certainly, as the discovery and rapid conquest of so enormous, unknown, and perfectly savage a tract of country, from the Ural to the eastern ocean, must remain an everlasting monument of the genius, the intrepidity, and perseverance of the russian nation: so much have we reason to admire the peopling of it as a master-piece of political wisdom!”

SECTION III.

Natural characteristics of the Inhabitants.

FOR completing the picture of the physical state of the inhabitants of the russian empire, it remains for us to delineate their bodily character. The more diverse the modifications to which, from the infinite variety of their natural and moral relations, they must be liable, the more simple will be the plan we trace out to ourselves in the present section. The bodily state of a people is dependent on a thousand things; nature of the soil, climate, weather; way of life, dress, food; manners and usages, even political constitution and religion have a decisive influence on the strength, the durability, the health, in short the whole physical character of mankind.

kind. Some of these relations have already been touched upon in what has gone before, others can only be enlarged on in the sequel; and, unless we intend to swell the present section to the thickness of a volume, we must confine ourselves to general sketches, for which the farther prosecution of this work will furnish ample materials and colouring.

The RUSSIANS are a moderate-sized, vigorous, and durable race of men. The growth and longevity of this people are very different in different districts; but in general rather large than small, and they are commonly well-built. It is very rare to see a person naturally deformed; which doubtless is chiefly owing to their loose garments and the great variety of bodily exercises. All the sports and pastimes of the youth have a tendency to expand the body and give flexibility to the muscles.

Easy as it is occasionally by comparison to discriminate the Russian by his outward make from other Europeans, it will, however, be found very difficult to point out the principal lineaments of the national physiognomy, as speaking features are in general extremely rare. The following may be deemed common and characteristic: a small mouth, thin lips, white teeth, little eyes, a low forehead; the nose has a great variety

variety of forms; it is most frequently seen to be small and turned upwards. The beard is almost always very bushy; the colour of the hair varies through all the shades from dark brown to red, but it is seldom quite black. The expression of the countenance is gravity and good-nature or sagacity. — Hearing and sight are usually very acute; but the other senses more or less obtuse by manner of living and climate. The gait and gestures of the body have a peculiar and often impassioned vivacity, partaking, even with the mere rustics, of a certain complaisance and an engaging manner.

The same features, on the whole, are conspicuous in the female sex, but in general improved, and here and there actually dignified. A delicate skin and a ruddy complexion are in the vulgar idea the first requisites of beauty; in fact fine rosy cheeks are perceived more commonly among the russian women than in other countries, but no where is paint so essential an article of the toilet as here, even among the lowest classes of the people. As the growth of the russian ladies is not confined by any bandages, stays, or other compresses, the proportions of the parts usually far exceed the line which the general taste of Europe has prescribed for the contour of a fine shape. — The early maturity

maturity of girls, at which they generally arrive in the twelfth or thirteenth year, is only to be accounted for, in so cold a climate, by the frequent use of hot baths, which, while it accelerates this expansion, also brings on an early decay of beauty and solidity of bodily frame. Married women seldom retain the fresh complexion and the peculiar charms of youth beyond the first lying-in. By their baths, their paint, and the great submission in which they live with their husbands, the moderate share of beauty with which nature has endowed these daughters of the northern earth is generally faded at an age when the husband is just entering on his prime.

Among the collateral branches of the russian stock but few variations are discernible in the bodily form. The Malo-russians have somewhat of the Poles in their physiognomy; the Don-kozaks partake of the tartarian, and the Ural-kozaks of the tartarian and kalmuc, which proceeds from the commixture, wherein these people have long been accustomed to live. With all of them, however, the main lineaments are russian, and so impossible to be mistaken, that the form of the face alone affords the strongest proof of their parentage.

The bodily frame of the Russians is excellent. Their happy organization, their cheerful and blithe temper,

temper, that hardness which they oppose to every inconveniency, the natural simplicity of their manner of living, and their rude, but dry and wholesome climate, procure to the great mass of the people a degree of physical complacency of which few other nations can boast. — The Russians are endowed with a vitality, of which an instance has scarcely ever yet been found in any other country, as we have seen in the foregoing section. If the Englishman or the Spaniard excels the Russian in bodily strength, the latter is superior to them by far in the endurance, or in the patient suffering of severer hardships. Hunger and thirst, want of accommodation and repose the Russian can bear longer than any other nation *. — In all the lower classes,
the

* Of the almost incredible endurance of the Russians such proofs are seen in the long and toilsome marches of the army; the severe corporal punishments they undergo, &c. as fill foreigners with amazement. How often is the Russian soldier obliged to cross waste and waterless steppes, or to pass the whole winter in little earth cells, without firing and without any other provision than his dry biscuit! How often do we see malefactors, after a punishment, the very sight of which makes one shudder at every nerve, walk their way back to prison, without support and without any visible alteration in their gait! — With all this, however, it is extremely remarkable that the Russian, notwithstanding this extraordinary passive power, if I may so
express

the soldiery excepted, a healthy old age is very common; lively old men of a hundred years are in all parts of Russia no unusual appearance, but probably the number of them would be far greater if the propensity to dram-drinking were not the occasion of so great a mortality in the middle periods of life.

There are but few peculiar diseases prevalent among the Russians, and against most of them they know how to guard themselves by simple diet and domestic remedies. The women everywhere bring forth with great facility, and usually in the bath-rooms; the number of still-born children is therefore, in comparison with other countries, extremely small. The small-pox and measles carry off not nearly so many children as in the greater part of the rest of Europe; but on the other hand the effects of venereal disorders are more dangerous and infectious, the virulence of it being unhappily increased by the cold. — In

express myself, does not possess an unusual degree of bodily strength. To put a burden in motion, or to convey it from its place by people, always in Russia far more men are used than in other countries; and that this is not done merely to spare them, we may convince ourselves by every day's experience at the wharfs by the exchange, where an english sailor will sometimes lift and carry things which the utmost exertions of three Russians would seem scarcely to move.

Siberia,

Siberia, sometimes in summer, a disease called by the Germans the *luftseuche* or air sickness appears *, an epidemical disease attacking both man and beast. It shews itself by a bile on some part of the body, and, if no speedy assistance can be had, is mortal, though not infectious; but they have now found out an easy and safe method of cure.

— About the upper Lena croups or goitres are common enough; young people, however, get quit of them on coming to parts where they have better water. — In the neighbourhood of the Caspian there is a horrible, tedious, and deadly leprosy, which happily, however, becomes less and less frequent in its attacks, and is generally called, from its former country, the *krimean disease* †.

Most of the household remedies of the common Russians are truly heroic. A mixture of leeks, garlic, spanish-pepper, and brandy, seems with them to be the grand panacea, and is applied without regard and distinction in all diseases of whatever kind and how opposite soever; so also aconite, hellebore, and the like, are in high reputation for their medicinal virtues. In pains and aches of the bones or limbs, and in colicky complaints, they burn moxa of *artemisia*, &c. on

* Pallas, travels, tom. ii. p. 308. 473. 484.

† Ibid, tom. i. p. 302.

the bare skin. — In general the common Russians use but few medicines; supplying their place in all cases by the SWEATING BATH, a practice so universal among them, and which has so decided an influence on the whole physical state of the people, that we must absolutely dwell a little longer upon it *.

The use of the bath, that venerable relic of the manners of the antient world, is now almost entirely confined to the oriental nations, where it ministers both to health and to luxury, and is perpetuated by religion. In Europe it has been gradually declining for several centuries, though it was here also in some sort interwoven with religion †; Russia and Hungary are at present the only countries in this quarter of the world, where it is still the custom to bathe after the manner of the antients. In Russia particularly the bath makes so much a part of the system of living, that it is used by people of every age and in all circumstances, by infants, by women at their lying-in, in almost all sicknesses, before and after a journey, after hard work, &c. The bath is a necessary of life so indispensable to the

* See the excellent tract of professor Schlœtzer on the harmlessness of the small-pox in Russia.

† The holy-water in the roman-catholic church is a slight remnant of it.

common people, that they frequent it as often as possible, well or ill, and without any particular occasion, once a week at least. Persons of the middle stations, in good circumstances, and the great, usually construct vapour-baths after the russian fashion in their own houses; though in these classes the practice is becoming more confined as foreign manners gain ground among them.

The baths have been common throughout Russia from time immemorial; they are described by Nestor so long ago as the eleventh century precisely as they are constituted at present. — Among the antients the baths were public buildings, under the immediate cognizance of the government. Their invention was owing to cleanliness and convenience; but in the sequel all the graces of architecture were lavished upon them, and at length luxury and voluptuousness so distorted them from their primitive purposes, that they were offensive and shocking even to the moralists of antiquity. Alexander was astonished at the magnificence of the baths in Persia: at Rome, under the emperors, there were once 870 of these edifices, that in point of magnificence and taste might pass for master-pieces of art; and which were doomed in after-times to be demolished by the

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Goths,

Goths, or converted into churches by bishops. — In our days Hungary is the only country that can still shew baths equal in magnificence to those of the antient Romans. In Russia, on the contrary, they are always of that simple construction which bespeaks their primitive and most essential destination.

Here the public baths* usually consist of mean wooden houses, situate, whenever it is possible, by the side of a running stream. In the bath-room is a large vaulted oven, which when heated makes the paving-stones lying upon it red-hot; and adjoining to the oven is a kettle fixed in masonry, for the purpose of holding boiling water. Round about the walls are three or four rows of benches one above another like the seats of a scaffold. The room has little light, but here and there are apertures for letting the vapour escape: the cold water that is wanted being let in by small channels. Some baths have an anti-chamber for dressing and un-

* They are called public because they are under the care of the police, and are let out to common people on the crown's account; farther than this the government takes no concern either about their erection or their management. Out in the country they are entirely free. — The produce from the contract is trifling. At least, in the year 1723, in the whole empire it amounted to no more than 37,957 rubles.

dressing;

dressings; but in most of them this is done in the open court-yard, which on that account has a boarded fence, and is provided with benches of planks,

By far the majority of the baths are constructed as they are here described. In the country, in parts where wood is scarce, they sometimes consist of miserable caverns, commonly dug in the earth close to the bank of some river. In the houses of wealthy individuals, and in the palaces of the great, they are formed upon the same construction but infinitely more elegant and convenient.

The heat in the bath-room is usually at from 32 to 40 degrees of Reaumur, and that greatly increased by the throwing of water every five minutes on the glowing hot stones in the chamber of the oven. By this means the heat often rises, especially on the uppermost bench to 44 degrees of that thermometer. — The bathers lie, stark-naked, on one of the benches, where they perspire more or less in proportion to the heat of the humid atmosphere in which they are enveloped. In order the better to promote perspiration and completely to open the pores, they are first rubbed, and then gently flagellated with leafy bunches of birch. After remaining awhile they come down from the sweating-bench, and

wash their body with warm or cold water, and at last plunge over head in a large tub of water. Many people throw themselves immediately from the bath-room into the adjoining river, as the youths of antient Rome used to leap into a pond after the violent exercise of wrestling, or roll themselves in the snow in a frost of ten or more degrees.

The russian baths, therefore, are SWEATING-BATHS; not the roman tepidaria and caldaria of a moderate warmth, but very violent sweating-baths, which to a person unhabituated to the practice bring on a real, though a gentle and almost voluptuous swoon. They are VAPOUR-BATHS, not water nor yet dry sweating-baths; herein they differ from all the baths of antiquity as well as from those of the modern orientals; and this is also their essential excellence, that they are beneficial in such a variety of cases where hot-water baths would be useless or even pernicious. They are, farther, SALUTARY-BATHS, as they promote cleanliness, assist the perspiration, render the skin soft and smooth, &c. and not voluptuous baths as among the Greeks and Romans. All the inventions of effeminacy and luxury are entirely obviated; of anointing after the use of the bath (which in Rome was held so indispensable a requisite, that even

even the emperors distributed oil among the people) the Russian is perfectly ignorant. Instead of this the sudden transition from heat to a rigorous frost hardens his body to all the severities of climate, to every vicissitude of weather; a transition which seems unnatural or dangerous to us, only from the prejudices of a soft and effeminate age*.

It is not to be doubted that the Russians owe their longevity, their robust state of health, their little disposition to certain mortal diseases, and their happy and cheerful temper, mostly to these baths; though climate, aliment, and habits of living likewise contribute their share. — The great lord chancellor Bacon, and other sagacious observers of nature and of mankind, have lamented, and certainly not without cause, that this bathing has fallen into disuse among the modern nations of Europe, and justly wish the practice back again in all our towns and villages. In fact, when we consider that the old physicians

* The turkish ladies, who certainly need not yield in point of delicacy to those of Europe, bear this sudden alteration equally well with the russian populace. They continue bathing, according to the testimony of lady Mary Wortley Montague, at least four or five hours together, and without catching cold, though they go immediately from the hot bath into the cool apartment: — which was naturally very surprising to the english lady.

so early introduced into their practice this remedy of nature's own invention, and employed it with such great success; when we recollect that Rome for five hundred years together had no physicians but only baths, and that to this day a multitude of nations cure almost all their maladies merely by baths; we cannot avoid regarding the dismissal of them as the epocha of a grand revolution which has been wrought in the physical state of the human race in our quarter of the world.

The natural perspiration, the most important of all excretions, must naturally go on better in a body constantly kept soft by bathing. A great number of impurities which privily lay in us the train to tedious and dangerous distempers, are timely removed ere they poison the blood and the juices. All exanthematic diseases are abated by bathing, consequently then the small-pox; and if this dreadful disorder be actually less fatal in Russia than in other countries, this phænomenon need not be attributed to any other cause than the vapour-baths*.

The POLES, related to the Russians by descent and language, have also in their bodily frame so

* See on this subject, in Schlotzer's above-quoted work, the dissertation of Dr. Sanchez: *De cura variolarum vaporarii ope apud Russos, &c.*

much similarity with them, as would make it plainly perceptible that the two nations originate from the same stock, if the difference of the national character were not so very striking. On the whole the Poles are of a larger, drier, and more fleshy cast; their countenance is open and friendly; their bodily structure is well-proportioned, and only the neck is commonly thicker with them than is usual among the other european nations. The men of all ranks wear whiskers, and shave their heads in such manner that only a lock of hair remains on the crown; a particularity which gives them in the eyes of other Europeans a foreign and almost an asiatic appearance. The female sex are famed for their beauty over all the north; to the peculiar advantages of figure, they have also a delicate shape, small elegant feet and fine long hair. The same flexibility, which we noticed among the Russians, is also observable among the Poles: their looks in common intercourse are far more animated and lively.

Firm and lasting as the corporal structure of the Poles seems to be, and great as the tendency of their education and way of life is to harden the common people; yet the host of diseases to which this nation is liable is comparatively greater than that of their neighbours. Whether
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it be the quality of the atmosphere, which is rendered unwholesome by the numerous and large morasses, and by the situation of the carpathian mountains receives a peculiar acridity; whether it arises from the want of good potable water, or the uncleanly way of living so conspicuous in the majority of the inhabitants: it is, however, a singular circumstance, that Poland is visited by more violent and malignant diseases, and that these are here more infectious and dangerous, than in the more northerly Russia.

In the polish provinces which now belong to the russian empire, especially in Volhynia and the Ukraine, where the country, however, in comparison with Lithuania, is elevated and dry, disorders of the breast, intermittent fevers, small-pox, worms, plica polonica, itch, and venereal infections, are the most current diseases. Epidemical diseases are rare; but none of them commit such depredations as the small-pox, which is partly to be ascribed to bad treatment and diet, but principally to the carelessness of the people. Little as the common Turks give themselves any concern to guard against the plague; not a whit more does the polish peasant take any pains to ward off the infection of the most dangerous small-pox. The sick and healthy lie together with the cattle in a very small inclosure;

closure; the compressed exhalations, and the usually immoderate heat of the room, impart to this malady such a degree of malignity, that it seems little short of a miracle that any one of these unfortunate creatures should escape with his life.

The ravages of this disorder are, even in regard to the rude climate, every where great. We may confidently state the mortality at six or seven out of ten; and such as escape this fate are almost always cruelly disfigured. Hence it is also that no country in Europe so swarms with blind people as Poland. If we except those who are become so by the *plica polonica*, the remainder may impute this dreadful calamity to the small-pox*. — Inoculation is only practised in large towns, in the country it is almost entirely unknown; and where the introduction of it has been here and there attempted, it has been constantly opposed by the national prejudice so obstinate as not to be conquered.

Preternatural births are extremely rare; of 800 or 1000 there scarcely happens one where any obstetrical art is necessary.

* De la Fontaine, miscellaneous dissertations on physic and surgery relating to Poland. Breslau, 1792, 8vo. p. 111, 112.

The venereal disease in great towns is in the ratio of six to ten; so generally has this dreadful evil spread. In the country it is proportionately not less prevalent; once it happened that of 100 recruits 80 were infected. — Of the various modifications of this subtle pestilence, none are more frequently observed than venereal ulcers in the nose; and there is perhaps no country in Europe where we meet with more persons without noses than in Poland. The severe northern climate, and the suppressed perspiration which is almost always a consequence of it, exasperate this disease so much that even one brought by a Pole from a warmer country is easier to cure than one caught in Poland*.

All the distempers which we have now been mentioning, Poland has in common with the other nations of our part of the globe; but the matted hair is an affliction altogether peculiar to that country; and therefore claims, on this account, as well as that of its very general diffusion, to be rather more circumstantially mentioned here.

The matted-locks, clotted hair, or *plica polonica*, is an endemial disease in Poland and some

* De la Fontaine, miscellaneous dissertations on physic and surgery relating to Poland. Breslau, 1792. 8vo. p. 129—144.

of the adjacent countries *, in which the morbid matter critically settles in the hair, and clots it together in so peculiar a manner, that it cannot by any means be disentangled or combed out. The matter of the disease, however, does not always deposit itself in the hair alone, but settles

* This disease is now traced from the source of the Vistula (to which it is indebted for its name) into the carpathian mountains, Lithuania, White and Red Russia, and Tartary. — When and in what region it may have first arisen, cannot be precisely ascertained. It was unknown to the Greeks, the Romans, and the Arabians. Some modern writers place its origin in Europe in the year 1387, and affirm that it was brought into Poland by the Tartars. — If this assertion were actually proved, it would amply repay our pains to examine why the clotted-locks have not become endemial also in Russia by means of the Tartars, as it is well known that a great part of this empire was long under tartarian supremacy, and the intercourse between the two nations was so great. At any rate it is a remarkable phenomenon that so infectious a disease, considering the close vicinity and the constant traffic carried on between Poland and Russia, and the great similarity in mode of life, climate, and aliment, has not found its way among the latter people. Consequently, the ground of it must lie either in the local-quality of Poland, (which however de la Fontaine absolutely denies,) or there must be some circumstance in the russian way of living, which diminishes or annihilates their disposition to this malady. May not perhaps the vapour-baths produce this beneficial effect? At least we are assured on good authority that warm vapours and medicines for promoting perspiration are among the most necessary requisites to a cure.

sometimes

sometimes also in the nails of the fingers and toes.

This dangerous and loathsome disease spares neither age nor sex, nor condition, not even foreigners newly arrived in Poland; nay, infants at times bring it with them into the world. The lower classes of people are however the most subject to it, boors, beggars, and jews. In Volhynia and the Ukraine this disease is among the common people in the ratio of two or three to ten; among the nobility and the substantial burghers, as two to thirty or forty. Many thousands of persons pass their whole lives entirely free from it; others have it several times, and sometimes even at regular periods. Hair of all colours is equally liable to it; but mostly the light-brown. The softer the hair the more easily does the morbid matter pass into it. The disease is also infectious; it is either innate, or communicated by nurses, by sleeping in the same bed with an infected person, or by clothes. — Even brutes are exposed to the *plica polonica*, especially those which have long hair.

The proximate cause of this disease is a sort of humour with which physicians are still unacquainted, and is not less difficult to be ascertained than the venereal, the scorbutic, &c. Thus much however is apparent; that it is a peculiarly viscous

viscous and acrid matter, which has its seat in the lymph, and makes a deposit in the hair or the nails, which deposition is to be regarded as a crisis. The causes of this matter it is not easy to ascertain; for neither air, nor water, nor food seem directly to contribute any thing to the enucleation of this disease; cleanliness and frequent combing of the hair are no security against it; neither do other distempers seem to take part in the causes of this affliction, though they greatly exasperate it when the patient is at the same time attacked by them.

The transit of the matter of the *plica polonica* into the hair happens when it is separated from the common mass of the juices and is sufficiently prepared for a crisis. Ere this crisis comes on, the patient has frequently much to suffer; but sometimes the clots form without his feeling the least previous indisposition. If the physician be not so fortunate as to draw off the morbid matter into the hair or into the nails, or this be not effected by nature herself, then the case of the patient is extremely dangerous: for if the morbid matter fall on any of the nobler parts, on the brain, or the lungs, or the stomach, it brings on the most cruel of mortal diseases; if it flow to the eyes, it causes inflammations, cataracts, &c. if it be so acrimonious and corrosive as to attack
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the marrow in the bones, then the disease is generally incurable, and the patient dies in the most excruciating torments.

As soon as the crisis has happened to the hair or nails, all bad symptoms cease, and the patient gets well by degrees; but if the symptoms return, it is then a sure sign that there is still a portion of the matter remaining in the juices, which should likewise pass into those parts. It frequently happens, when the morbid matter is too copious to be entirely absorbed by the hairs, that they snap in the middle, and it oozes out between them in great quantity, when the patient is plagued with vermin to such a degree as cannot be described. But that the hair should be so distended that blood flows out of it, as some antient authors have asserted, is by no means the fact. — When the clotted-lock is completely formed, benignant nature takes care to repel the mischief by producing new hairs, which forcibly, as it were, separate the clotted-lock from the head. This happens, though but seldom, in a few days or weeks, but ordinarily in the space of from one to four months, but sometimes not till the next spring.

The method of treating this disgusting and often extremely dangerous disease, is naturally very various, according to the different symptoms

and course of it. Both inward and outward remedies must be employed. At its very first appearance endeavours must be used to thin and mitigate the tough acrimonious matter to fit it for passing into the hair. As soon as the crisis comes on, medicines that promote perspiration must be applied, unless there be any degree of fever. When the crisis is once over, there is no longer any reason for apprehending that the morbid matter will return to the mass of blood; excepting in the case when a clotted-lock is cut off, into which the morbid matter had not yet fully passed*. The principal outward remedies are

* The clotted-lock may be cut off without any danger, when it hangs to sound fresh-grown hair, and has lost its peculiar stench, fat, and gloss. For being quite secure about it, at first let only some of the points be cut off daily; if no bad effects ensue, it may then be entirely absconded from the head, that is, in the after-grown hair; but (what is extremely curious) not without pain in the waist. — The dreadful consequences of too early an abscission have made the people so fearful, that they will seldom allow the clotted-lock to be cut off, even when it can be done without danger. Hence it is observable, particularly among the common people, that they bear their clotted-locks till they fall off of themselves, or, if this do not happen, they go to the grave with them. — The national custom of shaving the head probably took its rise from the notion, that by so doing this disease would be prevented. But, as we have

are warm vapour bathing and washing the hair with vegetable decoctions. — When all outward and inward applications to disentangle the clotted-lock have been tried to no purpose, inoculation will effect it, by causing the patient to put on a hood or cap which has been worn by one infected with a fresh plica *.

The lower class of people in general but rarely apply to a physician, commonly, either from poverty or from prejudice, using no other remedy than such as are known to them from vulgar experience. Happily the diet of the polish boors, on the whole, is the most harmless, because the most simple, that can be conceived. Every kind of animal food, if not totally unknown to them, is at least very seldom put upon their homely board. Various sorts of grits, pulse, and potatoes, are their common nourishment. Sour cabbage, four turneps, four-cROUT, and other antiseptics; they eat in incredible quantities. One species of national food deserves particular notice, which is called "Barfzez." This

seen, the hair is exactly the safest conductor selected by Nature herself, for discharging the morbid matter from the mass of blood; and it is truly amazing that the polish nation, after so long experience, has not abolished so pernicious a practice.

* La Fontaine, *passim*, p. 5—50.

is a soup, in which barley or grits is boiled with red turneps or cabbage made sour, and which affords at once a well-tasted and wholesome food. It is above all things to this mess that the Pole is indebted for being less liable to the scurvy, from the foul air that he breathes in his narrow strongly heated room, than he otherwise would be. And still less would he feel it if intemperance in drinking were not so much greater among the vulgar than in any other country*.

The LITHUANIANS in their bodily structure are between the Poles and the Russians, but are shorter than either. Crouching under the weight of slavery and want, their physical character also bears the marks of that degradation to which that once so flourishing a nation is sunk. — In salubrity, however, they are far better than in outward circumstances: we find among them fewer diseases than among the Poles. Almost all the districts of Lithuania that border on the Baltic are marshy and wet; yet intermittent

* The account which de la Fontaine gives in these lines of the way of living and diet of the Poles, is likewise literally adapted to the Russian nation; potatoes only excepted, which in Russia are little cultivated and eaten. The "Borschtsch," as it is called in Russian, is, properly speaking, peculiar to the Ukraine; but is also seen in all parts of Russia, and even on the tables of the foreigners in St. Petersburg, being deemed a wholesome, well-tasted soup.

fevers are extremely rare; also the clotted-locks and venereal taints are less common than in what was heretofore called Great and Little Poland. The ratio of the former being here among the lower orders as four to forty, and among the higher as three to ninety or a hundred. Cutaneous eruptions, itch, scrofula, hectic complaints, and fevers, are among their most current disorders; no disease is however so common as worms. Inoculation for the small-pox is here still totally unknown.

The description which we have here to make of the LETTES is not much more favourable. The two nations, as in the traits of their history, bear also a strong resemblance in the features of their face; hard service, want of all superior cultivation, destitution of the necessaries of life are deeply imprinted on their physiognomy in legible characters. The Lettes are very short of stature; among the women particularly are many, who, in comparison with other nations, might pass for dwarfs. In tolerable circumstances their bodies soon become fleshy: but, from the accounts of impartial eye-witnesses, lusty people are seldom seen. None of the Lettes are equal in strength to the german peasantry, especially as to what concerns lifting and carrying: nevertheless, they endure to an astonishing degree the extremities

extremities of frost and heat and continued rains, likewise hard work with but little sleep, to all which climate, mode of living, and habit greatly contribute. The hot-bath is likewise much in use among the Lettes, who, like the Russians, go from the extreme heat of them immediately into the open air; accordingly they are seldom heard to complain of defluxions, rheums, catarrhs, and toothachs. In general they are but little acquainted with prevailing sicknesses; both plenty and want seem equally well to agree with their constitutions; even to a very advanced age their teeth are firm and sound, and generally very white. Spirituous liquors, of which they are extremely fond, seem to do no injury to their health. — The women bring forth with much ease, commonly without assistance, and standing. Infirm children are rarely seen; they are swathed only for a short time, very soon crawl upon the ground in all weathers quite naked, and their nurses themselves are children of five or six years old*.

The nations of the FINNISH race, like most of the northern people, are but of a middling height. The characteristics of their physiognomy are as follows: a flat face with sunk cheeks, dark-grey

* Hupel's topographical accounts of Livonia and Esthonia, tom. ii. p. 121—194.

eyes, a thin beard, tawny hair, and a fallow complexion. This description is particularly applicable to the Laplanders; among the Finns the figure is somewhat ameliorated by better living and culture, yet the cast of the visage is the same. The Tschermishes and the Tschuvashes, in their bodily conformation have more of the tartarian; while the Mordvines approach nearer to the Russians, and the Vogules to the Kalmuks. The last, as well as the Ostiaks, betray their mungrel origin by their dark hair, as the auburn colour of it is characteristic of all the genuine finnish nations.

The healthy state of the finnish people proceeds from their climate and manner of life. They are all of a strong make, and know little of bodily ailments; but their excessive propensity to inflammatory liquors undermines their physical vigour. — With the Laplanders the mortality among the children, from the want of nursing and care, is very great; and few aged people are seen among them. Their most common diseases are itch, pulmonary disorders, putrid fevers, broken bones, (which frequently happen by their climbing the enormous mountains of snow and ice,) and distempers of the eyes, a consequence of dazzling light from the snow and the smoke of their huts. Besides a number of superstitious

superstitious rites and sacrifices adopted against these maladies, in inward complaints they principally have recourse to the warm blood of a fresh-killed rein-deer, and in outward ailments to the cautery of burning fungus. No Laplander will venture to marry till he have first killed a rein-deer with his own hand. Sterility among the women is disgraceful, but rare; they bring their children into the world with great facility, and always on that occasion enjoy the assistance of their husbands. — The Finns are universally great eaters, and, in spite of their strong passion for brandy, not unfrequently attain to a very advanced age. The diseases common among them are dropfy, scurvy, the falling sickness, and above all hypochondria. — The other finnish nations know little or nothing of these maladies; it is however very remarkable, that the small-pox were known among the Ostiaks previous to the arrival of the Russians*.

The TARTAR stem divides into so many branches, and the mode of living and government of them, even within the russian empire, are so various and distinct, that a general delineation of them would be next to impossible.

* Description of all the nations of the russian empire, art. FINNS.

Several tartarian tribes, by commixture with other nations, have obliterated their original impression; and by the exchange of their civil constitution, their religion, and their manners, they have also so much disfigured their physical character, that, were it not for historical accounts, we should scarcely be able to trace out their origin. This may particularly be affirmed of every branch of the Siberian Tartars, which, for the most part, now bear only the names of their patriarchal relatives, and since their settlement in that vast desert region are become either true Russians, or a motley breed from all the surrounding nations. Of the proper Tartars those of Kazan, Astrakhan, and the Crimea have retained their national peculiarity even in externals, and therefore these are they with whom we are to seek out the characteristic marks of their bodily structure.

The genuine unmingled Tartar is of middling stature and lean. His head has an oval form, the complexion is fresh and lively; the mouth and eyes are small, the latter mostly black and always expressive; the hair dark-brown, the teeth firm and white. The Tartars are in general a very well-made people, and their discreet and modest behaviour imparts to their slender make an agreeable appearance which is not easy
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to be described. Among the female sex, though there are but few who can, strictly speaking, be called beauties; yet the open friendly countenance, the blooming hue of health, and the harmonious proportion of all the limbs, give them such charms as we do not every day meet with even among european ladies. — This complete and noble shape is however only the inheritance of real Tartars, and loses itself more or less in the collateral branches of this people. The Bashkirs, for example, have much flatter faces, larger ears, stronger limbs, and are more fleshy. With the Kirghises the little tartarian eyes are still less; and the Teleutes and Yakutes bear in their form traces not to be mistaken of their commixture with Mongoles and Kalmuks.

The Tartars in general have a very good lasting constitution, and their simple manner of life, their temperance, and cleanliness, secure them for the most part from all malignant and contagious diseases; the small-pox excepted, which seldom rage among them, but when they do, the havoc they commit is the greater. Temperance and cleanliness among the Tartars are not merely popular habits but are a law of their religion. The Koran commands them to wash several times a day, and particularly delivers rules of conduct to the female sex in all situations.

tions. It interdicts the use of wine and spirits, and thus saves the faithful from all that legion of mortal ills that follow on intemperance. Not so salutary and dietetic is the command which enjoins abstinence from all manner of food; the Tartars count annually two hundred and five fast-days, on which they are not only prohibited to eat certain meats, but they must totally abstain from all nourishment so long as the sun is visible in the horizon. — Though the Koran allows of polygamy, yet it is rarely customary for people of the poorer or inferior sort to take more than one wife; opulent persons have commonly two, and extremely few go beyond that number.

The farther we advance from the bounds of our european quarter of the globe, the more singular and different are the figures we meet in which the inexhaustible fancy of Nature has shaped the noblest of her creatures. What a transition from the pure harmonious form of the Tartars to the fantastical combinations that prevail in the features and bodily structure of the MONGOLIAN nations!

The Kalmuks are commonly of a middling stature; they are strong built, and rather meagre than fleshy. The face is so flat, that the skull of a Kalmuk can be distinguished from a thousand. The little narrow eyes, with the pointed corners

running to the nose and the temples, are particularly characteristic. The nose is compressed and small, the chin short, the lips thick, the late growing beard very scanty, the teeth white and even. The large ears stand wide from the head: the complexion copper-coloured or tawny, but the hair black. In consequence of riding so much on horseback, and from their usual posture in sitting, the Kalmuks are generally bow-kneed at an early period of life. Feeling and taste are in most of them very obtuse, the other senses generally acute. The female sex are only distinguished from the same form by their smallness and a very delicate skin. — Notwithstanding the duration for which the bodies of the Kalmuks seem to be constructed, malignant diseases are extremely frequent among them. The small-pox are usually mortal; putrid fevers and the venereal disease carry off a great part of their population, and the itch is a peculiar malady, which shews itself here particularly obstinate, and is attended by bad consequences. Schoolmasters are at the same time physicians; their principal remedies consist in rhubarb, drugs, the grease and brain of animals, moxa of artemisia, and the like.

The Buræts resemble the Kalmuks in outward form as far as some slight variations. We find,
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for example, more lusty people among the former; their growth of hair is not so copious, and many of their men never get a beard. The countenance is fallow; the bodily structure has but little solidity or strength: a Russian of equal age and size always weighs more than a Buræt, and will beat several of them in boxing. — Notwithstanding this feeble constitution, the Buræts are, however, a very healthy people, though they seldom attain to an advanced age. The small-pox was formerly very destructive to them; but since an inoculation-hospital has been instituted at Irkutsk, the mortality occasioned by it seems to be greatly diminished. The Buræts now bring thither not only their children in multitudes, but they very frequently inoculate themselves. The itch, which is very usual among them, is a consequence of their manner of living, food, and clothing. In chronical diseases they use the warm-baths on the east-side of the lake Baikal. Their physicians are the Schamanes, who pretend to heal them more by sacrifices, incantations, and spells than by natural means. — The Mongoles in their physical construction approach more to the Kalmuks than to the Buræts.

Of all the fiberian nations the TUNGUSES are most distinguished by their greater symmetry
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of form. They are usually of the middling size, well grown, and slender: the face is less flat than with the Kalmuks; the eyes are little but lively, and the nose is likewise small but well-shaped: the beard is seldom bushy, and their hair is black. Sight and hearing are astonishingly acute. The female sex are well-shaped and of an agreeable figure. — Of diseases they know but little; properly speaking there are among them none at all. Nevertheless they seldom live to be old, which is owing partly to the climate, partly to their toilsome and perilous manner of life. The small-pox occasionally appears among them, and then commits great ravages. Their idolatrous priests are at the same time their physicians.

As we approach nearer to the north pole both the animal and vegetable productions of nature become more and more stunted. The ordinary stature of the SAMOYEDS seldom exceeds four or five feet, and their whole exterior corresponds with their dwarfish size. They are commonly squat built, and have short legs; the head is thick and smooth, the nose flat, the lower part of the visage prominent, the mouth and ears are large, the lips thin; and the whole animated by a pair of little, black, long-slit eyes. To so many beauties are superadded a tawny skin
 shining

shining with grease, and black bristly hair, which, though sparingly scattered, is carefully plucked up. The female sex are rather more slender, but withal less, and on the whole quite as hideous; their maturity comes on very early, but fades so much the earlier for propagation. Most of the girls are mothers in their eleventh or twelfth year; but their marriages are rarely prolific, and before the thirtieth year they have already done bearing.

The same bodily structure and the same features of face, subject to many variations from hideous to more hideous, are applicable likewise to the east-siberian tribes. The KAMTSCHADALES are equally dwarfish, only more broad-shouldered; thick head, long flat face, little eyes, thin lips, straggling hair, are here likewise the chief lineaments of the human form. The kamtschadale women, on the other hand, form some exception to this delineation; they are praised, at least, for a fine white skin, very little hands and feet, and withal a better proportion of limbs. — The Kamtschadales are subject to few illnesses, but cripples are very frequent among them, occasioned by their dangerous journeys and occupations. The most current disorders are the scurvy and the venereal disease; the latter was known among them before the
the

the arrival of the Russians. The dazzling reflection of the snow, which here lies on the ground during the greater part of the year, is the cause of frequent inflammation of the eyes. The small-pox is so malignant among this people, from their living chiefly on fish and other aliment that easily turn to putrefaction, that, like the plague, it usually carries off a whole generation when once it begins to be rife. Inoculation, however, has been long in practice among them; every Kamtschadale performs this operation on himself, by means of a fish-bone dipped in the variolous pus. — Both men and women are alike of a warm temperament; the acrid juices engendered in these ichthyophagi by food, climate, and mode of life, give them an incredible propensity to voluptuousness. The women bear easily and are very fruitful.

The form of the Tschuktsches and Koryakcs differs so much from that of the Kamtschadales, that these people must necessarily be of a different origin. The former are principally distinguished by a small head and a round meagre face. — The Kurils incline towards the Japanese, and are much better shaped; a great part of these islanders have such a quantity of hair over their whole body, that they are often for that reason called the hairy Kurils.

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On the contrary, with the ALEUTANS, even the beard is very scanty; and the skin completely white; and their figure on the whole is rather agreeable *.

* Description of all the nations that compose the russian empire. — Travels of the academicians, passim. — Storch's historisch-statistisches gemälde des russischen reichs, &c. tom. i.

V I E W
OF THE
RUSSIAN EMPIRE.

B O O K I V.

OF THE SEVERAL RANKS OR CLASSES OF
THE SUBJECTS.

THE notion commonly prevalent, that formerly no more than two classes of people were known in Russia, the nobles and their vassals, is ill-founded. There has always been a sort of middle class, and in process of time this was split as it were into several others. From the remotest periods there have always been cities; for example, Novgorod and Pskov, which for a long series of time were even considered as republics: then Kief, Vladimir, together with others; and afterwards Mosco. Besides, when the peasantry first fell into vassalage, there were classes that belonged neither to them nor to the nobility; for, not to

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mention the clergy, who have ever enjoyed a great consideration, there were the writers, the *odnodvortzi* *, the kozaks, and several others.

In most of the states of Europe the subjects are usually divided into three classes. The same number is mentioned in Russia by the late empress in her instructions to the commission for making a code of laws; and this with the greatest propriety; as she had legislation chiefly

* The word *odnodvortzi* is compounded of *odno*, one, and *dvor*, a house, and therefore signifies owners of one habitation only; they are a certain set of russian peasants who were originally nobles, but being reduced to poverty by various circumstances, were obliged to till themselves what little ground they had remaining, for a maintenance. In process of time, people of different denominations, such chiefly as filled inferior offices under government, came and settled among them; and in the reign of czar Peter the great, when every nobleman was obliged to enlist himself in the military, several of them, even those of considerable property, chose this condition of life, preferring rather to pay taxes to government along with these peasants, than go into the service. These peasants have their own landed property, which they can dispose of only to those of their own condition. They pay all taxes imposed by government; have free liberty to traffic; to exercise any trade, art, or handicraft; and to employ themselves in every pursuit agreeable to their own dispositions and the laws of the country: but they cannot change their condition, nor remove from one district and settle in another, without having first obtained permission from the government.

in

in view, and expressly included the collateral ranks. She speaks therefore only of the nobility; of the middle class, in which the clergy is reckoned; and of the lower class. We may then without scruple adhere to this division; for, by adopting any other we shall either run into fanciful conjectures, or be obliged to make arbitrary distinctions without signification, and almost without end.

One author divides the russian subjects into five several ranks or classes*; and for such a division arguments may be brought: only he should not have set the free peasants in the same class with the vassal-boors, it being well known that they are very different in regard to their rights. Neither is it apparent why he assigns a particular class to the foreign settlers, since they belong either as burghers and manufacturers to the middle, or as husbandmen to the lower class. I am therefore obliged to depart a little from the division which he has adopted as well as from that of several others.

Not to lose our time then in idle divisions by tribes, it will I think be better to keep principally

* Purgold's dissertation de diversis imperii Rossici ordinibus eorumque juribus, &c. Halæ 1786. — Mr. Coxé enumerates only four classes; and this division too may in some respects be defended.

in view those three leading classes before-mentioned, which seem to admit of a farther division in regard to rights and constitutions, whether founded on laws and privileges or on antient custom and prescriptive usage. Accordingly we may divide the subject into the following five general classes *, by which however it will not be nearly exhausted.

SECTION I.

Nobility.

IN Russia at present there is properly but one kind of nobility. It is the practice in some other countries, as it was formerly in this, to make a distinction between the higher and lower orders of nobility, but this distinction is now entirely unknown †; though concerning the peculiar

* Whoever chooses may admit more, by reducing, for instance, the khans of the uncivilized nations, the german colonists, &c. into distinct classes, and then we shall have upwards of twenty of them.

† Mr. Coxe mentions the higher and lower nobility, but from what authorities it does not appear.

charac-

characteristics of each of these two divisions authors are not agreed *. It would likewise be very difficult to ascertain precisely what privileges were arrogated by the higher nobility of Russia

* As the inquiry concerning what persons or families composed the high nobility does not properly fall in with the subject now in hand, I shall only say a few words on it. Some appear to make it consist of princes sprung from the reigning grand-ducal houses. Others speak principally of the antient boyars: but thence immediately arises the question, what they were, whence descended, and how they maintained their dignity, and then, whether this dignity was conferred by the sovereign, whether it attached to birth, or whether it grew out of the consequence they brought into the country with them. If we consider them as the privy counsellors of the sovereign, then their precedence arises merely from their office, or they must have already been so by birth. But it has been likewise affirmed, that the boyars, and in general the most considerable of the old russian nobility, came from abroad, were sprung from foreign ancestors, and brought their nobility into the empire with them. This is a matter that must be left to the curious researches of historians and antiquaries. — But even among what are called the inferior nobility, a distinction appeared so early as that period: for noblemen that were elevated to that honour by the tzar had precedence over those whom the patriarch, or an archbishop, or a boyar had raised to a sort of noblesse. Perhaps there was a difference among the boyars; at least many of them were merely elected to that honour.

in preference to the lower *. If we find them in possession of no hereditary inherent and essential prerogatives, of none but what they acquired from the office of boyars, or that they consisted merely in pretensions; in that case the antient distinction between the higher and lower nobility will appear to be very insignificant or altogether doubtful.

* M. Purgold is of opinion that the Russians had originally a high and inferior nobility, with the same rights as in the rest of Europe. This I shall not venture to affirm. It is true, the boyars made free-men, by distributing portions of land among their vassals, and thus raised them to a sort of noblesse: but I know not whether this was done by right, or by an arrogated claim, with the tacit approbation of the sovereign. — On one hand the old families carried their pretended rights much farther than the high nobility in Germany, especially in regard to the military service; as a nobleman, whose forefathers had acquired high degrees of honour, would not serve under such as had not so long a pedigree to shew: whereas the german princes, of antient princely families, fought without scruple under a general of the inferior, or even of quite new nobility. On account of the great confusions this occasioned in the service, the czar Feodor Alexéyevitch caused the *steppenniye knigi*, (the books of pedigrees,) whence the nobility drew their singular pretensions, to be destroyed. — On the other hand, the russian high nobility had fewer prerogatives than the german, especially in regard to territorial jurisdiction and authority.

The

The russian nobility, especially in Great Russia, have always enjoyed certain peculiar rights and privileges; but they were for the most part only derived from long usage, not sanctioned by any written law or even compact*. These privileges are: 1. that they can exclusively possess landed estates; of which we shall speak more particularly hereafter. 2. They can not only alienate or sell their estates, but they can use them at pleasure wherever the monopolies of the crown form no limitations. Thus, a nobleman can set up a distillery; but only for his own uses, or for sale to the crown, and not for the public houses†. 3. If a nobleman be found guilty of any high crime, he may be sentenced to the forfeiture of his estate, his life, and his

* I say for the most part, because such a privilege has really a written law in its favour in the Uloshenie.

† In this matter some provinces have greater privileges than others, being allowed to distil not only for private use, but also for the public houses, without being subject to any tax upon it. Of this sort are the Don kozaks, the landowners in Little Russia, the proprietors of estates in Livonia and Esthonia, &c. — On the other hand the russian nobility, and generally in other provinces every proprietor of land, has the high and low chace on his own grounds, as well as the right to set up mills at pleasure, without paying any tribute for it.

honour, consequently his nobility; but he can never be made a vassal. 4. They can arbitrarily impose taxes and services on their vassals, and may inflict on them corporal punishment, short of putting them to death; a written law in the Uloshenie (the old law of the land) protects them in this matter*, whereby the vassal is forbidden under penalty to bear witness or bring any complaint against his lord. 5. The nobleman is properly not responsible for his vassals; when the crown has any requisition to

* It might almost be affirmed, that in this the nobility have a greater authority than the crown ever exercised over any one of its subjects. With what lenity does it proceed in pardoning and punishing! with what accuracy and caution is the case investigated! — which it must be confessed but seldom happens in the ordinary domestic correction, where passion frequently interferes. Even on the occasional introduction of new imposts, the crown has always shewn great indulgence; and when, for example, a greater obrok is imposed on its own people, it is declared to be done only in order to lessen the jealousy between the boors belonging to the crown and those of the nobility. However, the russian nobles are not apt to abuse the authority they have over the boors, but, for several reasons, mostly behave with humanity towards them. Lords that exceed all bounds in severity of treatment have, in order to rescue the boors, been declared impotent of mind, which made it necessary to put them under guardianship.

make,

make, the officer applies to the village *, if the former do not of his own accord take upon him the delivery. 6. His vassals, indeed, bear the ordinary public burdens †, namely, the soul-tax, or capitation ‡, the supply of recruits §, and the furnishing of quarters ||; to which may be added, on urgent occasions, the providing of horses, though commonly for pay; but to new and un-

* In Livonia and Esthonia, on the contrary, the nobleman must answer and pay for his boors; otherwise, not his village, but he incurs an execution. Consequently they there know nothing of crown-resistanties, so common in Russia, where they are sometimes remitted by an act of grace.

† Even the crown-boors are liable to them in Great Russia.

‡ Ever since its first introduction it has remained the same, without increase or alteration. Thus, the crown cannot require the noble-boors to work it out at the mines, though it can compel its own boors to do so, as every nobleman may his, whenever he thinks fit.

§ The boors must, indeed, give up their sons as recruits, or find substitutes for money; but the recruiting likewise affects the property of the nobleman, who loses some of his vassals by it.

|| The boor must take those quartered upon him into his cottage, which likewise the officer must put up with. But of late many of the crown-villages have begun to erect particular quarters for the officers, and spacious stables for the cavalry, at their own expence, that they may live the more quietly in their humble habitations.

usual

usual public services or exactions from the crown without pay; such as making or repairing roads and forts, or guarding and conducting prisoners, &c.* they are not obliged †, except, if I am not mistaken, by a law of Peter the great, on pressing emergencies. 7. A nobleman cannot be compelled (at least it has never happened) to build a barrack or a magazine for the crown, or to raise recruits against his will ‡. 8. His person and his landed property

* For such matters the crown hires the necessary people. It has at times procured voluntary boors for a short time, and set them as guards over prisoners, with such arms as are used by the kozaks. Some provinces, for example Livonia and Esthonia, form an exception; for there the nobleman must take care of the repairs of the highways gratis, put up posts and rails where necessary, and sometimes conduct prisoners, &c.

† Whether, however, they may not be compelled to it, I cannot venture to decide.

‡ When the crown wants any thing, voluntary contracts are made for it; and the necessary store-houses must be built at its expence. — It is, however, quite otherwise in some parts of Livonia and Esthonia; for there the nobleman must build and maintain particular quarter-houses or barracks, or find a proper lodging in his own yard for the officers sent him: he must also provide magazines, keep receivers and deliverers there, and be answerable for all damages; must supply the post-stations with buildings and forage; must give up certain products at a very moderate price
whenever

perty are exempt from taxation *. — The privileges of the nobility have of late, by a manifesto of the year 1785, been confirmed and enlarged. They can now have their own marshals; hold assemblies, which cannot be molested by any arrest; they may set up manufactories and open mines on their own ground, without paying any tribute to the crown for them.

The nobility, likewise, were always bound to certain duties. One of the most important was to serve the government with inviolable fidelity, which is implied in the very origin of nobility. In Russia this had, for a long time, the appearance of coercion. At first, as in the old germanic feudal system, every nobleman was obliged to appear in the field with his subjects at his own expence. This custom ceased on the establishment of a standing army, and to the support of which, the capitation-tax was imposed on the

whenever the crown requires it, &c. On the other hand, both these dukedoms are exempt from the levy of recruits.

* He can use his lands, forests, &c. as he pleases, for which he pays no public impost. Only when he sells his estate, to which also the vassals are reckoned, either he or the purchaser must pay a certain percentage upon it. This, as well as the beforementioned levy of recruits, may be considered as a sort of taxation.

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boor: nevertheless, the nobleman is bound, as heretofore, to serve the empire in his own person; nor can he, without express permission, enter into any foreign service. But the emperor Peter I. was desirous that his nobility should travel, improve their manners, and accept of foreign service*. Peter III. declared, in a manifesto of the 18th of February 1762, that they were at liberty to enter into the service of any country they chose, or to live on their estates without serving at all†. The late empress wished to encourage those few who prefer honour to their private convenience, to manifest their proper object by entering into military or civil employment. — From her they have now re-

* At least he recommended it to them in very express terms, on occasion of the splendid and elegant appearance of count Bestuchef-Riumin, afterwards chancellor, at the court of St. Petersburg as a foreign ambassador.

* It has been imagined by some that the nobles were not free till then; and that they were before no better than a parcel of slaves or vassals. — Indeed even the greatest boyar, in his letters and statements to the monarch, always subscribed himself his slave; but this was the style of the times, and signified nothing more than what “your most devoted humble servant” does at present. — As subjects in other countries are bound to the service of their country; and, even in our own, on the issuing of a proclamation, every man must hurry home, so it was with the russian nobility, though somewhat more general and compulsory.

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ceived a written prerogative in the abovementioned manifesto of 1785. In virtue of which the nobles of every government are inrolled in the book of nobility in six classes or divisions; nevertheless, all the six form but one single corps: so that the list belonging to each government is a supplement to the genealogical book of the collective nobility of the whole empire; wherein no regard is paid to birth, origin, rank, religion, or language.

The six classes or divisions are according to the order prescribed in the manifesto: 1. The real nobility, who can shew their diploma, arms, and seal, or sufficient testimony that they have been of the real nobility one hundred years. 2. The military nobility, consisting of officers of birth not noble, but by their military service, in conformity to the ukase of Peter I. bearing date Jan. 16, 1721, are ennobled, with their children and posterity *. They have no need of a diploma: their commission as officers supplies its place. 3. The eight-class nobility, or persons belonging to the first eight degrees of rank †: they

* The name of such as have only personal nobility does not appear in the book of pedigrees.

† From the staff-officer upwards; also such as have the same rank in the court and civil service, e. g. court-counsellors,

they are esteemed equal to the most antient nobility. 4. Foreigners, descending from families of foreign countries. 5. The families honoured with titles, princes, counts, and barons. 6. The antient noble races who can prove the antiquity of their nobility, although their noble origin be covered with obscurity.

In regard to the military and eight-class nobility, it should farther be observed, that there are mercantile people who have received the characters of staff and superior officers. In relation to them a ukase was issued by her majesty, dated the 13th of Feb. 1790, that those who, according to the ukase of Nov. 18, 1766, have such characters might be contractors and farmers to the crown, but were not permitted to purchase estates, nor be united with the nobility who are inrolled in the tables of rank. But merchants, who have received their character according to the regulation provided for the military and civil services, may not undertake any contracts or farmings, but are admitted to all the rights and privileges which are

fellors, counsellors of state, have the brigadier's rank; actual counsellors of state have the rank of major-general, and are addressed by the style of excellence.

granted

granted to deserving persons by the ukase of Peter I. and by that of her present majesty of April 21, 1785.

Formerly the russian nobility consisted only of princes *, and the ordinary noblesse; and the sovereign granted no other than these two dignities: but since the commencement of the present century counts and barons have been added, who have received their dignities either from the russian monarch or the emperor of Germany. — The nobility of the empire is very numerous †, and is increasing daily not only by descent, but also by service, rank, title, alien pedigree, and foreign diploma ‡.

* Knæses.

† Especially about Mosco: the more wealthy reside in that city; and a certain pride is very observable in them there, which however does not display itself much in their intercourse with others, but arises merely from a consciousness of their own importance, and is only discernible in their carriage and deportment.

‡ In Livonia merchants and others sometimes endeavour to get a patent of nobility from abroad (as in Petersburg it can only be obtained by service) to qualify themselves for purchasing an estate, or to exempt them from personal taxes, or that their children who are in the army or navy may be the sooner advanced. By this means a great deal of money goes out of the country.

The

The nobility consists at present of several classes or orders, such as: 1. PRINCES, whose number is extremely large. Some are sprung from the blood of reigning princes, as the families of Dolgoruki, Vazemskoi, Cherkaskoi, Chilkof, &c. Others descend from Poles, as Golitzin; and others have been raised to the princely rank. Several are of tartarian pedigree. Many have been created princes in order to gain them over, as being the principal persons in a place besieged; even myrzas have received this dignity on allowing themselves to be baptized. — Without military rank obtained by service, they bear indeed the title of princes, but they have no pre-eminence attached to their birth, nor any precedence over the other nobility that are in the service. Only their sons that have merit are preferred before others. The daughter of a prince, without injury to her honour, marries a simple nobleman. No russian prince possesses or derives his name or title from a principality; though many of them are owners of estates far more extensive than the territory of some foreign princes in Germany.

The princes of the german empire, as well by inheritance as creation, form a particular and pre-eminent class of princes: they receive the
title

title of Highness, and their children are styled princes and princesses*.

Among the princes we may not improperly reckon the khans, &c. who govern the tribes of the steppes, under the russian sovereignty, though they are not styled princes. So also the ataman of the kozaks of the Don, for the time being, may well be admitted under this head.

2. COUNTS are much fewer in number than princes, to whom they are properly not inferior in dignity, rank, and authority. They have their title either from the russian sovereign or from the german court, and would not willingly exchange it for that of prince. They possess no territorial county, and the german title, Graf, is adopted into the russian language.

3. BARONS, or freyherrn, free-lords; the liber homo, perhaps, of the antient charters and statutes of England. Russia has but few barons; for a long time the family of Stroganof was the only one of that empire that was honoured with this title. The late empress raised several persons to it; among whom we have seen three of our own countrymen, baron Dimisdale

* The children of common russian princes, or even of khans, do not receive this title: the former are called princes and princesses.

with his son baron Nathanael Dimfdale, and baron Sutherland late banker to her majesty.

4. SIMPLE NOBLEMEN, whose number is exceedingly great. Among them are very rich families, possessing estates in land of greater surface than many a dukedom; but also numbers that are poor, who have neither a peasant nor a foot of land belonging to them. A general officer, still alive, being on a journey in Siberia, came to a village which was almost entirely inhabited by noblemen; who, having no boors, carried on their husbandry with their own hand-labour, as is the common practice with some of the petty noblesse of Poland.

5. DIETI-BOYARSKIE, or boyars'-children, and the patriarchal, as also the episcopal nobles; of whom some possess real nobility, while others are enregistered in the capitation. The antient respectable boyars, who possessed an extensive property in land, erected a sort of dominion around them, in conformity with their feudal notions, and raised some of their vassals to distinction over the rest, under the name of Dieti-boyarskie, i. e. boyars'-children, who were to serve the state. Their example was soon followed by the superior clergy who had large possessions; especially the patriarch, who took upon him, like the sovereign, to elevate persons under
his

his protection to the rank of nobility, and to grant them estates. The tzars afterwards conferred real nobility on some of them who had shewn themselves worthy of it by abilities and merit. — The governors of provinces likewise formerly appointed several kozaks that were stationed in towns to the dignity of boyar-children and noblesse; as a reward for their services either in the military or civil department: yet they could not confer on them real nobility, nor have they ever been held in equal consideration with that which follows it. — In the present century, when the capitation-tax and the delivery of recruits were introduced, such of the boyar-children, and episcopal or patriarchal noblesse, as had vassals, were admitted into the number of real nobles; others remained subject to personal services; or, if they had entered into guilds and corporation companies, they were registered to the capitation. — Their rank and their right to possess estates are, however, held by some to be very problematical.

It being a maxim with the russian sovereigns not more expressly to favour the antient than the new nobility, and princes not more visibly than the other nobles; inasmuch, that even, according to the regulation for equipages published a few years ago, the nobleman who has not

served, must drive an inferior equipage in towns, that is, with only one horse, than the merchant, who may be drawn in his coach with two or four horses at his discretion: so that every one must strive to raise himself by good behaviour and services performed to the state, if he will not sink into oblivion, and live in his village without authority or consequence. For birth here gives but little claim to preference and consideration; both are regulated by the degree of rank acquired by service. Birth merely facilitates the way to honour. Accordingly there is not one place of rank which the new noble or the man of not-noble birth may not fill. No question is ever put concerning ancestry; and the officer's wife, who may be the daughter of a burgher, appears upon an equal footing with the most antient princess at the imperial court, where they both receive the respect attached to the rank of their husband.

Though it should appear from the charter granted by her late majesty in 1785, as well as from several antient laws, that the right of possessing landed estates is granted only to the nobility; yet it would be wrong to conclude thence, that the nobleman only and exclusively may possess property in land throughout the whole empire;

empire; or that by those ukases the rights of other ranks and classes were abolished. It is not to be denied, that on a slight view, those ukases seem to appropriate solely to the nobility the right of being land-owners; nay, there is an ukase by which merchants, who, though of the character of staff and upper officers, but have not the entire noble pre-eminence, were prohibited the purchase of estates: consequently, in the present case, the nobility were not contrasted with the vassals or hereditary boors, but with the other ranks. But it is no less undeniable that not only private persons and particular ranks*, but also whole tribes belonging in no respect to the nobility, possess a real landed property, estates, nay entire districts and provinces: we see a proof of this in the *odnodvortzi* and the *kozaks* of Little Russia, each of whom has his little heritable estate; so likewise the *Don-kozaks*, who are real proprietors of the whole of their extensive country, in which they have their lands and cow-yards; thus also the *Tartars*, *Baschkirs*, and *Vogules*, who sell or let out large tracts of land or forests of their own hereditary

* Monasteries and churches have still in Russia many parcels of land belonging to them; but several *livonian* and *esthonian* pastorates are real estates provided with vassals.

possessions, to the proprietors of mines. Russian merchants too, since the reign of Peter I. possess property in land and boors: and in Livonia and Esthonia real landed estates have belonged from time immemorial to particular towns and bodies corporate; and the empress Catharine II. latterly made a free-gift of the estate of Vieratz in perpetuity to the incorporated burghers of the kreisstadt Fellin. That even simple boors may buy a village with all the people belonging to it, will hereafter be shewn from ukases when we come to speak of the peasantry. On the whole then it appears, that in the expression of the ukases above-mentioned, there is a manifest obscurity which may easily lead into mistakes*. In Livonia the laws restricting the possession of land have given rise to the practice of procuring patents of nobility from Vienna, or at least titles that confer the rank of nobles, by persons of unnoble birth when they wish to purchase estates.

The noble estates in Russia were formerly of two entirely different species: the one termed land-estates, the other hereditary estates; for

* Those laws seem to relate principally to Great Russia; and there only to such estates to which vassals belong, though with some limitation.

Peter I. in 1714 introduced a sort of majority, or indivisibility, so that the possessor of an estate could make it over to which of his children he pleased. This diversity was the cause of many difficulties in hereditary succession. By an ukase bearing date the 17th of March 1731, the empress Anna entirely repealed it; abolished the land-estates, and declared all to be hereditary to which a complete right of property and free disposal were attached. From that time these hereditary estates have been inherited and sold as such. Only in Livonia and Esthonia there were still fiefs, whose legitimacy was liable to some doubt, and on an examination being ordered it caused cruel apprehensions to their owners. But the late empress quieted their fears, to the happiness of these two dukedoms, by an ukase of May 3, 1783, whereby all fiefs are abolished, and those estates are converted into real hereditary property with freedom of alienation.

Of the russian estates it is farther to be remarked: 1. That they are vulgarly called villages, the value or greatness of which is estimated by the souls, i. e. the male heads of peasantry, as in general every proprietary reckons his riches according to souls. When a proprietary wants to borrow money of the lombard, they advance him 40 rubles for every soul comprehended in

the mortgage : the females are never taken into the account. "2. In heritages the estate is divided among all the children of both sexes ; hence it is that at times a village belongs to several lords, each of whom possesses a certain number of souls upon it, and if he will he may go and live upon it, conduct his own husbandry, or leave the care of it to his boors ; because all the ground and soil are his property. On failure of a direct heir, sometimes a family privilege comes in force ; if, for instance, the mother die, she leaves the estate brought by her to her children ; but, on their dying without heirs, it falls not to the father, but back to the maternal family.

Concerning the antient boyars, and their proper origin, nothing satisfactory has hitherto been published. During the tartarian and mongolian sovereignty no trace of them is found* ;
even

* In a german compilation the boyars are mentioned under the mongolian supremacy, and even earlier : but, as the author does not quote the authorities whence he has his accounts, nothing can be decided from what he advances in favour of the antiquity of the boyars. It is likely he may have confounded expressions : for boyar often indicates the nobility in general ; and we sometimes hear the nobility in Moldavia and Valakhia called by the title of boyars. Even in the russian language boyarin signifies a gentleman, a person of distinction, a master of a family ;
and

even during the reign of tzar Ivan Vassillievitch I. no such title appears, though it seems to have arisen at that time or shortly after. For, under the tzar Ivan Vassillievitch II. the boyars had already endeavoured to collect a considerable force about them ; but were much over-awed by that monarch. In the succeeding period, however, when the patriarch, and, under his protection, the superior clergy, raised great pretensions, which, in the confusions that soon after sprang up, and from the indulgence or slothfulness of some tzars, were brought to effect, the boyars took advantage of this favourable opportunity to extend their power also. It is probable likewise that persons of respectable birth, from other countries *, who filled high stations in
Russia ;

and the russian peasant usually styles his nobleman, even though he has neither rank nor estate, boyarin, or contractedly barin ; and his spouse, boyarina. The task-service which the boors perform to their lord is therefore called, boyarschtschina.

* That there are foreign families among the russian nobility is too well known to need any proof. The family of Bestuchef is of english origin ; the name of the founder of it was Best, but as that word in the russian signifies beast, and in order to give it a national termination, the two last syllables were added ; to which they afterwards got the surname

Russia; and on that account, no less than from the privileges they brought with them, enjoyed great authority, might give occasion to all boyars, i. e. the superior officers, to assume a consequence which they strove occasionally to enlarge.

In regard to titles derived from rank, the Russians in their addresses and letters employ either the rank-title, as, Major, with *gospodin*, or Mr. prefixed, as the French say, *Monsieur le Majeur*; or only the baptismal name with the addition of the father's baptismal name, and the termination *vitch*, as, *Ivan Petrovitch*, John the son of Peter; of the family-appellative, except in particular cases, no mention is made. In like manner the late empress, in her letters, addressed men of consequence, either by their office; as, in french it would be (for it is not to be put into

name *Riumin*, to denote their foreign descent. The first count Bruce was a Scotchman, no longer ago than the reign of Peter the Great, who engaged him in his service. The family of *Kar* is also from North-Britain. That of *Panin* is originally Genoese. *Korsakof* came from Corsica, and therefore bears the surname *Rimski*. The *Fominfins* are *Thomfons*, the name being translated: *Foma*, Thomas; and *fyn*, a son. A hundred more examples of a like nature might be given.

english): Monsieur le general gouverneur de Riga et de Reval! or merely in their own and their father's baptifmal name; the latter especially when she wrote to Ruffians; in writs to inferior officers the address is fimplly: To our college-affeffor N. or the like. Below the imperial name is commonly a countersignature of one of the cabinet-minifters. — A Ruffian, in the ordinary courfe of his correffpondence ufes only his chriftian and family names, as Ivan Pofkatfhin; but, when he writes to the empress or presents a petition, he alfo gives his father's baptifmal name, though not with the termination *vitch*; but, as a mark of his fubmiffion and humility, with the termination *of*, adding the word *fyn*, i. e. fon, as, Ivan Petrof fyn Pofkatfhin.

SECTION II.

The Clergy.

THOUGH the clergy are frequently comprehended in the middle order, yet without impropriety we may here affign them, as in feveral other kingdoms, a diftinct clafs, being numerous and respectable, and having certain peculiar privileges of its own; befides, as it is fometimes particularly

cularly mentioned in manifestos *, and in several places is distinct from other classes †. The clergy are divided into superior and inferior, into monastic and secular.

The clergy enjoy peculiar rights and privileges: they not only are held in greater respect, which extends also to the inferior clergy ‡, but they cannot suffer corporal punishment without being previously defecrated; they are moreover exempt from taxes, even the secular priest pays no head-money for his sons §; though when he has several he must deliver his proportion as recruits; who, however, as they can read and write, soon push themselves forwards, and at length come

* Thus, for example, the empress, Elizabeth, in her first manifesto after coming to the crown, says, that all her faithful subjects of the spiritual and temporal orders had unanimously invited her to ascend the throne of her fathers.

† In Livonia, where a list of souls must be delivered in every half-year, the clergy, according to orders issued for that purpose, take the second place, as a particular body; they are always inserted between the nobles and the burghers.

‡ Among the vulgar it extends even to those whose behaviour and office do not exactly tally.

§ Even the sexton does not pay it; only with the boors belonging to churches and monasteries; it is the same as with noble-villages.

to be officers*, if they deserve it by their conduct.

The 31 eparchies are the following :

1. Novgorod and St. Petersburg.
2. Pskov and Riga.
3. Tver and Kashin †.
4. Mosco and Kaluga ‡.
5. Kief and Galitz.
6. Mohilef, Mstislavl, and Orshansk.
7. Smolensk and Dorogobush.
8. Kazan and Sviyashsk.
9. Astrakhan and Stavropol.
10. Tobolsk and Siberia.
11. Rostof and Yaroslaf.
12. Riazan and Shatzk.
13. Ekatarinofslaf and Kherfon-Taurida.
14. Tschernigof and Neshin.
15. Novgorodseverski and Glukhof.
16. Nishgorod and Alator.
17. Bielgorod and Kursk.

* For the same reason the preachers in Livonia and Esthonia (who by their privileges may possess noble estates) frequently put their sons into the land or sea service, though they are not subject to the recruit-levies.

† These three first mentioned prelates are now members of the holy directing synod at St. Petersburg.

‡ This prelate is member of the synod, though only for the department of Mosco.

18. Suf-

18. Susdal and Vladimir.
19. Kolomna and Tula.
20. Vologda and Ustiug.
21. Viatka and Great Permia.
22. Archangel and Olonetz.
23. Voronetz.
24. Irkutsk and Nertshinsk.
25. Kostroma and Galitch.
26. Tanbof and Penfa.
27. Orel and Siefk.

The following eparchies have vicars:

28. Starayaruffa. The prelate is vicar in the novgorodian eparchy.
29. Dmitrof. The prelate is vicar in the moscovite eparchy.
30. Pereyaslavl and Borispolsk. The prelate is coadjutor of Kief.
31. Feodosia and Mariyepolsk. The prelate is vicar in the ekatarinossaf eparchy.

Krutitzki is not named among the rest, because its bishop is exempted from the administration of the eparchy, and resides in a monastery as archimandrit.

In the empire are usually reckoned 18,350 parish-churches and cathedrals of the orthodox greek religion. In the year 1755, they were numbered

numbered at only 18,070. But to these must be added: 1. a multitude of conventual and other small churches which have no peculiar priest, but are considered as filiales or chapels: their number extends into thousands: 2. the numerous churches of other confessions, either in the provinces on the borders of the Baltic, or in White Russia, or lastly such as stand alone in russian towns.

The number of the russian clergy is computed at 67,900 persons, without including their families; to which should be added those of other confessions and religions. Some authors assert, that in the whole empire are 480 monasteries and 74 nunneries, among which the smaller are not reckoned; the former containing 7300 monks, and the latter 5300 nuns. The last number is manifestly exaggerated*. In the ecclesiastical establishment of Great Russia are reckoned only 159 monasteries and 67 nunneries; in the former 53 abbots, 99 priors, with 2657 persons belonging to them, chiefly consisting of monks: and in the latter 67 prioresses, and 1299 nuns. But herein are not comprised: 1. all the little religious houses dependent on them, which

* At least it bears no proportion to the convents. Mr. Coxe rightly states the nuns at only 1300.

the members may either maintain at their own expence or suffer to fall into decay: 2. those monasteries which declare that they require no pay but chuse to support themselves by voluntary donations, &c.: 3. all the monasteries in Little Ruffia, as well as, 4. those in White Ruffia. However, on reckoning all these together, we should hardly produce the above number of cloisters, monks, and nuns. That Peter I. and still more expressly Catharine II. have greatly circumscribed the lazy monastic state, so detrimental to population, and put it upon quite a different footing, is already universally known from other writers.

Some authors have erroneously supposed that the clergy consists entirely of the sons of priests; and that no man of noble birth has ever been admitted into orders. But, though the secular priests fill most of the spiritual offices with their children, yet individuals of other stations, particularly noblemen, have at all times taken the monastic habit, and then been made priests. It is but a few years ago that a nobleman, who had been in the military service, was a spiritual director in a monastery; and a prelate now alive is, according to report, descended from a very honourable russian family; and before he entered the church, had received an order of knight-
hood

hood for his services in the army*. At present, however, few nobles feel any violent inclination to become clergymen†, whatever they may have formerly done.

By the laws of Russia no ecclesiastic can be brought before a temporal judge, unless commissaries of the clerical order be likewise on the bench‡. But, as in examinations that admit of no delay, and must be done upon the spot, it would be too tedious if the magistrate, for instance, the commander of the district, were obliged previously to send to ask commissaries of the bishop: therefore, the senate, in the year

* However, it is said, that in general it is not much approved of, that the clergy should be of noble parentage.

† It is reported that a very respectable prelate, by his remonstrances, brought it about that several disbanded officers (among the rest a hussar, by birth a German, but had conformed to the Russian church) were admitted some years since into the cloister, and promoted to spiritual dignities. Yet these are not usually appointed to village churches, as there the worthiest clergymen run great hazard of becoming boorish themselves, from the total want of any social intercourse that might supply food to their minds, and keep up a dignity of manners: they are commonly obliged to work in the field, the barn, and the stable with their own hands.

‡ The preachers in Livonia and Esthonia have no such privilege as this to boast of: they are obliged to appear by summons before every temporal magistrate.

1791, represented to the synod, that it were to be wished that the parochial bishops in every town and district should appoint stated spiritual deputies to be present at examinations where persons of the sacred order might be involved : which the synod approved and put into execution. These stated deputies must immediately present themselves whenever they are summoned to examinations by the town-bailiff or the commandant of the district.

Concerning the monasteries it may be observed that they all follow the rule of St. Basil ; consequently but one order of monks is known in Russia. Neither in monasteries nor in cathedrals have there ever been prebendaries, canons, minor canons, nor any officers of that kind under other names ; accordingly there is no chapter to vote in the election of bishops. Each monastery has no more than one superintendant (whether prelate, or abbot, or prior) ; all the other persons of the house are monks, either ecclesiastics or lay-brethren. There never has been an instance of a child being placed in a cloister for the sake of making the brothers and sisters the richer, or of lessening the burdens of a numerous family. Women separated or divorced from their husbands are put into nunneries, but seldom or never against their consent.

SECTION III.

Burghers and the Settlers in Towns.

THIS distinction is necessary, because there are many burghers who do not dwell in towns; for instance, german manufacturers; in Livonia the disponents, placemen, professionists, &c. that live about the country. On the other hand, there are people in the towns that are properly not burghers, such as noblemen, officers of the crown, literati*; in like manner persons that remain there only for a time, also servants, and real boors.

In Russia have always been towns and burghers, as at Novgorod, Kief, Mosco, &c. therefore what Busching says on this subject in his Geography needs some correction: that "the burghers in Russia are new, and are grown out of the boors." The latter is only true of some towns, particularly of such as were villages, and have been lately raised to corporations. If he mean to advert to the first origin of burghers, then the case is the same in Russia

* According to the new regulation, however, the men of letters belong to the burghers.

as in all other kingdoms, and especially in his own country, Germany; where the burghers, as we learn from history, likewise arose from boors, from unfree peasants, or vassals; which latter cannot be said of the burghers in old russian towns, as they formed themselves into burgherships, while the nation yet knew nothing of unfree persons or vassals. In the provinces of the Baltic, the towns whereof are also a part of Russia, I shall at present say nothing.

Therefore, though Russia antiently had towns, yet it must be owned that they were but few, and the rights of the burghers were undefined. Even the formerly republican towns, Novgorod and Pskove, had lost their rights, which probably were partly but presumptive; only the baltic towns preserved their own constitutions, rights, and privileges.

The late empress by her mandate of 1785 gave a municipal regulation to all her dominions without exception, which is justly considered as a benefit of uncommon magnitude to the russian towns. Under the foregoing reigns the important object of augmenting the towns, the number of burghers and trade seems at times to have been wholly unthought of. It was impossible for commerce to thrive, while it was chiefly carried

carried on by vassals, and when the towns were too few in number. The countryman found no convenient sale for his products; and these were consequently not improved. At present, to the great advantage of the empire, all these matters are surprisingly altered.

SECTION IV.

Free Peasants.

THIS head, as it is not usual in classifying the russian subjects, requires some elucidation. Whole multitudes of people, who, in other countries, would, without hesitation, be associated with the boors, demand in treating of the russian empire, a particular class; because, by reason of their country life, in the strictest sense, they do not belong to the burghers, while on account of their freedom they are far above the condition of a boor, as a vassal *. Betwixt the two they form a middle station. In virtue of their freedom, no man can alienate or

* Therefore in this place they are not called boors, because vassalage is usually connected with that idea: however they are often comprehended among the boors even in state-papers and in numbering the people.

sell them; they educate their children as they please; the generality of them possess an immovable property; what they earn no man can take from them, so they do but duly pay their common taxes, or perform their stated tasks of public labour: they are under no arbitrary command, but, like those of superior ranks, own no authority but that of the general laws of the state. To all who know the value of freedom it will appear then but reasonable to allot them here a separate class *. Yet among them there are different gradations, as all of them do not enjoy the same degree of liberty. Some of them are expressly called boors, and, without violation of their freedom, are treated as such, though with somewhat more gentleness than vassals. Others have a true civil liberty, and differ only by their place of abode and occupations from towns-people. None of them enjoy aristocratical privileges; the particular persons who have soared above their station, and have attained to nobility, dignities, and orders by military service, form no general rule, especially as many that were born vassals have done the same.

To this class belong; 1. The FOREIGN COLONISTS, settled here as husbandmen, or farmers.

* They are called countrymen in all the public documents.

By their occupation they are boors. But by reason of the land given to them, they cannot be so called; we must, therefore, mitigate the expression by epithets, and term them free german boors*. The german workmen in the mines, and others of a like description, may properly enough be joined with them; if on account of the smallness of their numbers we cannot assign them a particular sub-division. But the russian master-workmen in the mines belong properly to the boors as being in a sort of vassalage.

2. The ODNODVORTZI, or one-house-owners†, belong heritably to no private person, nor can they be heritably granted to any one‡; conse-

* They reasonably hold the first place in the present class, from the privileges that have been granted them, by which they cannot be judged arbitrarily, but according to the laws, by the judges of the district; also here and there have their own constitution; and if they pay back the advance-money they have received, they may draw again.

† They have indeed no farm-yard as is customary in the livonian manors, and therefore might be called one-house-holders; yet this expression is not only unusual, but incomplete, because they possess more than a house; they have lands likewise. Some foreigners class them with the free-settlers; but in a manifesto of February 18, 1762, they are termed country-settlers.

‡ This privilege is probably not grounded on any written law, but only on immemorial usage.

quently they are not vassals, not even of the crown*, though it regards them as subjects in the strictest sense; and therefore at times they are sent in multitudes to some seminary of the country-militia on the lines. They possess their houses, with the grounds belonging to them, as real property, for which they neither perform feudal service nor give of their products: so that they are far better off than the boors. But, as they are obliged to furnish recruits, to pay the poll-tax and obrok, to be sent wherever the good of the empire requires them; and can neither buy villages† nor possess vassals as property‡, so they belong not, at least now, to the nobility, though they are very apt to reckon themselves of their class, and are sometimes by others regarded as a sort of inferior or petty no-

* That is, when compared with the crown-vassals who presently come under the fifth section, and are properly distinct from them.

† Estates.

‡ Some of late have indeed bought estates with vassals; but it is always in the name of some nobleman who permits them to use it; otherwise, by the laws as they exist at present, they would have to fear a retraction as soon as their purchase became public. This already shews that they do not belong to the nobility, though they seem in a manner to be numbered with them in the manifesto of Feb. 18, 1762.

bleffe. That they originally formed a part of the aristocracy, and gradually sunk below it, is hardly to be supposed. It is rather more probable, that when the country people fell into vassalage, they preserved their freedom by such means as they had, and particularly by their landed property*. Many of them have lately by military service got by degrees to be officers, and consequently, with their children, are become real noblemen; but then they belong no more to the *odnodvortzi*. There are among them persons in good circumstances. — In some places in their number are reckoned the disbanded foldiers that live in the country: and hence might arise the notion, that the *odnodvortzi* derived their origin from the military service†; and that their ancestors, being common people, were favoured, on account of their good behaviour, with a possession of inheritance in per-

* It is thought by some, that, on account of their freedom and their landed property, they belonged formerly to the nobility; but this is a mistake, for there are people in the empire who possess hereditary lands, and yet are neither vassals nor noblemen.

† Not very different from this is the opinion advanced by M. Purgold, who derives their origin from the prisoners taken in war, which is rather improbable, though some of them may be sprung from prisoners or strangers.

petuity,

petuity, which protected them from vassalage. But the great number of them seems in some measure to weaken the probability of this supposition. Others again give them the same origin with the boyar-children, above described, with the declaration, that those of them who had no boors of their own should be *odnodvortzi*.

3. The KOZAKS in all their stems and branches, who possess their districts, lands, and cow-yards, as real property. Some, for instance, those of the Don and the mountains of Ural, pay no poll-tax, but perform military service; others, as those of Little Russia, now pay the poll-tax and deliver recruits out of the regiments raised from their own body, but are otherwise exempt from military service; others again look after the posts, furnish them with horses and shelter, for which, however, they receive a slight pay; several, as the Siberian Kozaks, represent a sort of petty nobility, as some well-informed German writers have particularly shewn. I shall only observe farther, that at present are seen among them persons, who by military service are not only become noble, but have also obtained considerable dignities and orders of knighthood. — The Kozaks too are regarded by the crown as subjects in the strictest meaning of the term; and therefore at times
whole

whole masses of them are transplanted into other regions.

4. The TARTAR TRIBES. They pay the head-money and furnish recruits; but possess their lands as heritable property.

5. The BASHKIRS, VOGULES, KALMUKS, with most of the nomadic tribes and people of the steppes. Many of them have their own political constitutions, and a sort of nobility among them. Being not vassals, and possessing their lands in inheritance, they fall under this head. However, these, especially the Bashkirs, who perform military service, and the Vogules, are reckoned by some writers among the boors of the crown; but this should be done with a kind of limitation.

6. DISBANDED SOLDIERS living in the country. They are called in ukases and other public instruments, "people of the former disbanded military establishment." — Formerly, as was observed before, the boyar, or nobleman, was bound to appear in the field with his people. When the war was over, he returned to his mansion, and his people were boors as before. At length standing regiments were established: the Streltzi were of this sort. Peter the great created a complete army under this regulation, that, instead of the former personal service, it should

should be recruited out of the empire; but whoever was incapable of serving any longer, should be dismissed, only with this condition, that he should never again be a vassal; and therefore must distinguish himself by his dress, the shaving of his beard*, &c. his reason for which was probably that the military might always be held in respect. When such discarded foldiers retired to the country and followed agriculture, they were indeed boors, but free, under the sovereignty of the crown, somewhat like the *odnodvortzi*. This regulation was continued through the succeeding reigns. At that time all recruits went into the forts; where, as in a kind of garrison, they learnt and enured themselves to the military profession. At the conclusion of the seven years' war, which had cost the empire great numbers of men, an alteration took place, in order to spare the country for some time from

* Not longer than 28 years since at every dismissal of an under-officer or common foldier, (even though he had not before been a vassal, but were a free-born German,) he was expressly ordered not to dress himself like a boor, but to wear german cloaths, to shave his beard, &c. — That this is at present the practice I scarcely believe. But only a few years ago it was done at the dismissal of an under-officer of german noble parentage; probably through an oversight of the chancery.

the obligation to furnish recruits. Thenceforward the veteran foldiers and invalids came into the garrisons, where they married, and are now a nursery for the army; as the crown maintains their children and has them brought up as foldiers. Ever since, the recruits are delivered directly to the regiments. At present a soldier but seldom receives his dismissal, and only in cases where he can bring vouchers that he is no longer fit for service, but has rich relations, or means of his own whereby to procure a sufficient maintenance. He from that moment belongs to the class of free country-men; and his former lord can never demand him back.

7. EMANCIPATED SERFS, who have either bought their freedom of their lord, or obtained it gratuitously in reward for faithful service, &c. Of such are considerable numbers in Livonia and Esthonia. They either gain a livelihood in the country as petty placemen, millers, publicans, &c. or get admitted into the burghership of towns.

8. MALO-RUSSIAN BOORS, or Boors of Little Russia, who are neither Kozaks nor vassals, but free people*. They possess no immovable property, but rent lands of the nobles there, for money, or for certain work to be performed.

* Yet there are russian vassals among them.

By the capitation-tax, which they have been obliged to pay since 1783, they are now somewhat more shackled, because they can no longer remove at will from one place to another; but must remain in that where they are registered to the capitation, or must come to terms with the manorial lord for that purpose.

9. FREE PEASANTS, who can neither be sold nor alienated separately from the land, but belong to the estate*; with which they pass from one lord to another. They may not improperly be reduced to two classes: some possessing their land in the manner of a freehold, of which sort we find many in the government of Viborg; whereas others live upon the lands of the lord, and pay for the occupancy in money or in stated tasks of labour. The latter may quit their place (though not the district) on offering another boor, acceptable to the seignorial lord; who has a right to dispose of them. Some have express privileges peculiar to themselves†. The education of their

* Somewhat like *glebæ adscripti*. The lord can drive them away from his domain.

† Which they maintain with extreme jealousy. — Some of these boors, though they are subject to the domestic correction of their landlord, yet they are not entirely under his arbitrary sway, but are still protected by the laws. Those in the government of Viborg cannot be punished otherwise than conformably to a legal sentence.

children is left to themselves, who either bring them up to mechanical trades, or get them into service, &c. They dwell either on the crown-lands or on those of the nobles, chiefly in Esthonia and the adjacent islands, also in Livonia and on the isle of Runo*.

SECTION V.

Vassal boors.

THEY are usually called simply boors; but here this addition is necessary as a distinction between them and the preceding free boors. They have no civil liberty; their children belong not to them, but to their manorial lord, on whose will they depend; they also, with their children, singly or in families, may be alienated, sold, and exchanged; they possess no immovable property, but they themselves are treated, sometimes as the movable, sometimes as the immovable property of another. They properly therefore form a distinct class.

Originally they were free; but, in Great Russia, after the turbulent times of the false

* In Esthonia and Livonia they are called Swedish boors, being originally of that country, whence they derive their privileges.

Demetriuses,

Demetriuses, became gradually vassals, or heritable serfs : consequently it was not by the imposition of head-money, but long before ; for already in the Uloshenie appear ordinances concerning the slaves *, e. g. that, as was mentioned above, they should neither bear witness nor bring a complaint against their lord †. — Busching indeed calls the crown-boors as well as the nobility-boors, vassals ; but when he afterwards adds, “vassalage has particularly remained “with the crown-boors,” it seems rather unintelligible. As these, in general, live more comfortably than those of the nobility, perhaps the geographer only meant to suggest, that, with

* This expression must not here be taken in its strictest import. Some indeed look upon their vassals as slaves ; but between the two there is a considerable difference ; though perhaps an austere lord may sometimes treat his vassal as a slave, at least when under the influence of passion. Mr. Coxe is in a mistake when he calls the condition of the russian boors a perfect slavery. This term in no respect applies to the crown-boors. Even those belonging to the nobles have certain rights ; for instance, the lord cannot put them to death, cannot prevent them from marrying, cannot violate their wives and daughters, &c. Were he to do so ; it would be wrong and contrary to law, and might be attended with legal censures.

† Hence it is observable, that the boyars had an influence in the making of the Uloshenie, and did not forget their prerogatives over the boors.

the

the latter, vassalage had degenerated into slavery. But a very great part of them really live in good circumstances, and are rich. Generally speaking, there is no exceeding great difference between the two : for the crown can make presents of its boors to private persons, whenever and in what numbers it will ; and then they are immediately treated upon the same footing with the other nobility boors. — Many of the former have long since become merchants*. Others of both sorts are still boors, but at the same time carry on some trade, either on their own account alone, or in company with merchants. Others again have got themselves inscribed in towns as traders, paying their taxes as such, and at the same time as boors. The majority of them pursue husbandry, take to the fisheries, or follow some other profitable occupation.

They are commonly divided into three kinds ; but it seems requisite to part them into four.

1. CROWN-BOORS†. These are extremely numerous. In the government of Perme they form the greater part of the peasantry. But at the same time it must be observed, that there all the people belonging to the crown are reckoned

* An ukase gave occasion to this.

† In Livonia they are vulgarly called public boors.

its vassals, and therefore called crown-boors; and thus, not only the Russians, but also the Tartars, Bashkirs, Permiaks, Siryanes, Vogouls, and many others, pass under that denomination. But, though this be the case sometimes even in the chanceries, yet it is but reasonable to make a distinction between boors whom the crown, as its real vassals, can grant away, and who possess no real property; and those tribes of people who are owners of immovable possessions, and enjoy certain rights and privileges. Therefore those people seem to belong to the foregoing class. However, we must not omit to mention, that there are also real vassal-boors belonging to the crown, which the crown cannot with propriety give away, they being attached as workmen to the mines either of the crown or of private individuals, that they may earn wherewith to pay their head-money, and who could not be removed without considerable detriment to the mine-works. Such are called, Pripisniye, i.e. inrolled; and they are many thousands in number. That, formerly, on account of some oppressions they suffered from private proprietors of mines, they would sometimes rise tumultuously, but that the late empress, some years ago issued a very gracious ukase for their protection, has been already noticed

noticed under the article of mines. Since that time, whenever a master-miner or any of his substitutes, think fit to deal more harshly with them than the letter of the law allows, they have a right to bring their complaint before the proper judge.

The taxes and imposts of the crown-boors are not in all places alike. Most of them, besides the head-money, pay also the obrok, i. e. a sum of money for every male soul; and this is the only benefit the crown derives from them. In some districts they do task-work*; or they pay of their products; or, as in Livonia, both at once, instead of the obrok. However, great attention has always been paid to the mitigation of their lot; unless we except their former hard usage at the mines; and therefore they live more happily than the generality of the noble-boors; nay even more at their ease than many free people. Among them are many that are in good circumstances, and might even be called rich. Indeed they would not feel their vassalage, if the crown could not grant them away; as they then run the hazard of falling under the yoke of a hard master.

In ukases and public documents they are usually mentioned under several denominations:

* Somewhat of a similar nature with what was in France called the *corvée*.

as divided into boors of the black-plough, boors of the empire, imperial boors, post-boors*, and court-boors. By what particulars each kind is distinguished from the others I have not been able with any certainty to learn. A general-officer, who had passed many years in the several provinces, and had made repeated inquiries, gave me the following account in regard to the first-mentioned distinction: "Boors of the white-plough formerly meant those who, without performing task-work, and paying taxes in products, defrayed their imposts in ready money; on the other hand, those of the black-plough were such as, together with some personal præstanda, (which were not always in all provinces of a like nature,) were to pay their taxes by the tenth of every corn-harvest. These, as well as the former, must, besides this, pay their head-money, as a stated contingent to the military-chest: but both were free boors of the crown; and, in common with all other boors, must likewise furnish recruits. Whether, amidst so many alterations that have of late years been made, these distinctions are still observed, is more than I can tell; I only know that the taxes have been very much increased."

* Yamfchtshiki.

From some oral and some written accounts, I may present the reader with the following authentic, though not complete information * on the subject :

In the russian laws and ukases eight distinct kinds of crown-boors are mentioned ; namely,
 1. Empire-boors † ; they belong to nobody in particular, neither to the court, nor to the nobility, nor to the monasteries ; they are therefore members of the empire or burghers of the empire ‡. They for the most part consist of boors of the black plough, to be mentioned presently, *art.* 3. 2. Imperial boors §, who belong to the monarch personally, or rather to the court ; of whom mostly consist the court-boors, *art.* 6 ; others are registered to the favodes, or manufactories, where a number of workmen are engaged. 3. Boors of the black plough ||. The origin of this appellation is now no longer known. But a great part of northern Russia as

* On inquiry, several persons, from whom some light was reasonably to be expected on this matter, honestly confessed that they had never troubled their heads about it ; so that what information was obtained was got with great difficulty.

† Gofudarstvenniye.

‡ This expression is to be taken in a quite peculiar sense ; and even then will be but obscure.

§ Gofudarevii. || Tshernofoshniye.

far as Archangel, is almost entirely inhabited by them. Their regions are divided into volosts *, each whereof is an actual, though not an independent, republic. In other respects they principally belong to the class of empire-boors, *art.* 1 †. 4. Post-boors ‡; they are bound, in lieu of the imposts, to keep post-horses, and have their name from yam, which signifies post-station; but between every two yamui are several post-stations §. 5. Court-boors || are they whose service and tributes are destined to the support of the imperial court δ (not to the cabinet's expences).

* Territories.

† The author of a paper in the historical magazine of Gottingen, dated from Petersburg, says: the boors of the black plough were crown-boors who were obliged to perform certain services, or pay tithe, for the land allotted them. But all crown-boors are obliged to this. — The truth is, that those of the black plough pay for their fields a sort of tithe in natura; I suppose we should call it foccage.

‡ Yamtshtshiki.

§ Yam signifies a sort of place provided with all requisites for the keeping in readiness of post-horses, which they must provide.

|| Dvortzov iye.

δ It was ordered by Peter I. that certain boors should pay their taxes (1) at his court or other of his palaces, as

(1) Head-money and obrok.

pences). They were formerly under the great court chancery *, whence they have their name. But this being since abolished, and all those estates and boors being now under the kameralhof, the sum of 3 millions is annually paid for it from the government-coffers † to the court, or rather to the exchequer ‡. Nevertheless the boors will for a long time continue to bear the old name of dvortzovniye, as well as the two next following sorts of them. 6. Monastery-boors §, who formerly belonged to the monasteries, but now every where in Great, Little, and White Russia, are under the kameralhofs. Properly speaking they belong to the article that immediately ensues. 7. Economy-boors || were in Great Russia those boors who,

the funds whereby the court or such particular palace was to be supported. Of this kind of court-boors are those registered at Katarinenthal near Reval; the castle at Riga has also 5000 of them. In many places they possess no lands, but maintain themselves by various kinds of mechanical employments, as carpenters, bricklayers, &c. or as fishermen. Their taxes are received by the kameralhof, but particularly applied, or directly sent to the empress's private purse.

* Glavnaya dvortzovaya kantzelyariya.

† Statnoiye kafnatshestvo. ‡ Pridvornaya kontora.

§ Monastirskiye. || Ekonomitsheskiye.

about the year 1764, were taken from the monasteries and churches, and made subordinate to a particular college of œconomy erected for that purpose. That is now abolished, and the boors are under the kameralhofs; but continue to bear their former name. 8. Peltry-tribute-paying boors* are those who deliver their tributes in peltry or furs; which tribute is termed yafak; and hence these latter also preserve their antient appellation†.

One privilege of the crown-boors, which foreigners are not acquainted with, requires to be mentioned. It consists in this, that they may buy of noblemen villages and lands, with the vassals belonging to them. In an especial ordinance of the late empress, of Aug. 29, 1766, it is said: “The boors of the court-estates are permitted to purchase of the adjacent owners, “small villages with lands; paying for a soul “not more than 30 rubles; however, with this “condition, that the court-boors who have “bought the said lands, either for their own or

* Yafashnuiye.

† The yafashnuiye, the monastirskiye, &c. are therefore still continued in the ukases, of which the general regulation for the raising of recruits throughout the empire affords a proof. — All these russian expressions are only adjectives, uniformly relating to the substantive kreftyanî, boors.

“ the

“ the crown’s money; pay for every desyatine * of land 1 ruble 25 kopeeks, obrok to the crown.” In another, of January 29, 1788, this privilege is extended to other boors and yamtshiks. That these purchases likewise are really made is seen from an ukase issued to the senate in November 1789, containing not only blank forms and explanations for the provincial governors concerning this matter, but also two instances appear from it of such purchase; one at Murauslanka, in the skopinskoi district of the government of Riæsan; where a desyatine and a half of land was bought, with the boors upon it (the kamerallhof there inquire of the senate concerning this purchase, as they see no utility to the crown arising from it). The other is an instance of the select-men of the boors in the village of Faryanof in the government of Yaroslaf, bought of a major’s lady, a boor with his wife, and some land contiguous to the village.

If foreigners should imagine that the ordering of odnodvortzi and kozaks into other parts, or the granting away crown-boors as an heritable

* Throughout Russia all ground is estimated and apportioned by desyatines, (or desyatines,) each 80 fathom long and 30 fathom broad,

fief to private persons, is a degradation of mankind, lowering them to the rank of beasts of the field *; they should recollect, that in all empires, and at all times, whole provinces, with the whole of their inhabitants, have passed over to other masters, not only by war, conquest, marriage, resignation, treaty, and testamentary bequests, but also by purchase. An instance of this last may be brought from Germany; where it is well known the emperor Charles IV. purchased the mark of Brandenburg of the elector Otho, in the year 1373; and the emperor Sigismund sold them again in 1417 to Frederic burgraf of Nuremburg †. This may serve to shew at least that the practice is not peculiar to Russia.

2. ŒCONOMY-BOORS. These belonged formerly to the bishops, churches, and monasteries; but were taken from them in the year 1764, and placed under the direction of a college of œconomy, from which they have ever since had their name; and are now on much

* Some travellers, in their accounts of Russia, have said, that in that empire the peasants scarcely enjoy the rights of cattle.

† In this sale it is notorious that noblemen, burghers, and boors, with their several possessions, were included. They were all sold together.

the

the same footing with the crown-boors. Being, like them, under the inspection of the kameral-hofs and oeconomy-directors, paying particular taxes and enjoying certain privileges: so they no longer need to be distinguished, but may properly be associated with the crown-boors.

3. BOORS OF THE MINES. They require to be particularized, as so peculiarly belonging to private mine-works, that they can never be separated from them, therefore they can never be sold or exchanged apart, though they are transferable with the works to another master. However, here are not included those crown-boors who are termed *pipisniye*, and are attached to the mine-works solely for working out their head-money. Accordingly, only those are meant who act as master-workmen, and are delivered as recruits from the boors belonging to the crown and the nobles; but are conveyed as property to the mine-proprietors, yet as inseparable from the works; and the proprietary mine-boors, whom the crown grants of its vassals to numbers of mine-owners, who have no boors belonging to them, as permanent workmen, yet in such manner that they dwell on the territory of the works, belong heritably to such proprietary, (but only so long as he is master of the works,) and must bring up their children solely for that mine-work.

4. NOBLE,

4. NOBLE, or PRIVATE BOORS. Several authors, and among them our countryman Perry, give a lamentable account of their condition. It is, however, not only exaggerated, but almost always represented in too general a manner. There are indeed lords who strain their exactions too far, and oppress their vassals; yet this can only be said of those who require too great and too various tributes, or of some of the country-nobles, particularly the poorer of them, who carry on the farming business themselves, or leave it to the management of a mercilefs upravitel, or overseer, who by birth is only a vassal himself. Their condition, indeed, depends entirely on the humour or caprice of their lord*; yet it is not to be denied that a great part of them, especially such as belong to wealthy lords, who require neither task-service nor deliveries of products, but only take a moderate obrok, live happily, grow rich, and would hardly be persuaded to change their condition for what passes under the name of freedom, but is commonly nothing more than a brilliant conceit. As an instance we need only take the village

* The same thing happens in the petty principalities of Germany: some of the princes by gentle treatment render their subjects happy, while others oppress them by taxes, imposts, and harsh methods.

Boretsh, not far from Mosco, belonging to count Vladimir Orloff, and which may be visited by any traveller that chooses. There every cottage nearly resembles a little hotel; the people go dressed in silks, have costly furniture and utensils, live on a grand scale, and entertain sumptuously the numerous strangers that visit them; they keep up a connexion not only with merchants in the adjacent towns, but instead of agriculture follow gardening, from which, on account of their proximity to Mosco, they derive great profits: and these it is that enable them to live as they do. Neither must it be supposed that these are the only vassals that live in affluence; as, besides the rich villages Ivanka and Pavloffki, belonging to count Shermetyef, there are many others, which escape the notice of foreigners in their hasty travels, who from some poor ones are too apt to conclude on all; and it is not surprising that, from the wretched looks of the Esthonians, they should be led into this mistake.

The dues to their lord are settled by no laws; some pay the obrok, others perform task-service, or, in lieu of it, deliver certain portions of their natural products; from others again all these are demanded: however, the obrok alone, especially where the lord is rich, is the most usual.

Many

Many take, for every male head only 3, others 5, and some, from the most opulent of their boors 25 rubles, or even more. — Those who fare the worst are the private boors who are obliged to perform task-service, in lieu of the obrok, at the mine-works of their lord, which may lie at a great distance; and perhaps the length of the way is not at all considered*.

For this usefulness of subjects, which brings the government so many important products, at the same time giving energy to the army and navy, and contributes the most to the public revenues, not much care has been taken during the former reigns, though the interest of the sovereign and the empire so essentially required it. Even Peter I. engaged as he was in so many important undertakings, could perhaps find no time for properly attending to this object. So much the more earnestly was it taken up by the late empress. A striking proof of it is seen in her instruction for the code of laws†; wherein she not only praises the Japanese for the maxim adopted by them, that servants ought not to be too harshly treated, as it readily leads

* Thus professor Pallas tells us, that some of Mr. Demidof's boors have above 600 versts to go to work at their master's iron-works, that is 200 english miles.

† Instructions, sect. xcii.

to resistance* ; but she declares expressly † her dissatisfaction at the severity with which this inferior class is sometimes treated : “ However, it cannot be denied (says the empress) that they are at times much oppressed.” And then declares it to be her wish and her inclination that vassalage should be abolished ; and, if this should meet with obstacles, yet that the condition of the boors might be bettered, and all oppressive abuses stopped. But, not contented with expressing her wishes, she did actually adopt several measures to effectuate her benevolent inclinations, by instituting a regular tribunal for the boors, entirely chosen out of their own body ; delivering the boors at the mines from oppression ; appointing overseers and guardians to prevent every species of violence, &c. and on every occasion recommending gentleness and humanity, of which she herself set so great an example. All is not to be brought about at once, especially in matters where the antient prerogatives of the nobility demand a discreet respect.

It was probably in consequence of this imperial declaration, that the free æconomical so-

* A very important hint, and highly deserving of consideration.

† Instruct. part. ii. sect. iii. p. 190 & sqq.

ciety at St. Petersburg, a few years since proposed the important political question: Whether it would be proper to abolish vassalage in Russia, with a prize for the most satisfactory answer? The society received papers in the french language from several candidates; one, extolling liberty, but advising great caution in the introducing of it. Another Frenchman * sent an elegant dissertation, which, with all its beauties of diction, was found impracticable: it was like an alarm-bell †, recommending the immediate diffusion of liberty throughout the country. On this subject a great variety of matters come into consideration. For, to mention only a few, it is well known that the crown is not willing to interfere directly in concerns between the nobles and their boors, when the rights of the former may come in collision: secondly, the crown-boor, while he continues such, feels his vassalage but little, if at all: thirdly, many vassals live more happily than if they were free. Let us only compare the substantial and sometimes opulent-russian boor with the peasantry of some other countries, needy and crushed under taxes,

* Probably, Marmontel, at least from the captivating style and other characteristics, he was generally held to be the author.

† This was the title to the manuscript.

while

while they boast of their liberty. Fourthly, if liberty should be suddenly and generally introduced, it must be done by an edict: but what confusion would not hence arise, as the people have no idea of liberty. but by its connection with licentiousness: fifthly, the boor must always pay taxes; if they be moderate, he may still live comfortably in his way, whether we call him vassal, or even slave, for the name signifies nothing. Even the task-works are often easier than the heavy sums that are paid for every article of life by taxes in many countries. Sixthly, it has been remarked, that by task-works more products are gained, especially with great land-owners. Seventhly, the introduction of liberty might be very prejudicial, not only to the mine-works, but also to agriculture; nay, it already appears that, by extending the obrok, in several districts the latter has suffered a decline. Eighthly, what should the boor do with liberty if he be forbidden to possess heritable property*? &c. If, as was done in the late reign, care be taken to protect the peasantry against oppressors, and some bounds be set to the power of the nobles; if the utmost endeavours be

* It might indeed be gradually permitted him, but it would be attended with a thousand difficulties, especially in regard to the noble-boors.

used to keep the taxes moderate, and the hope of being allowed boldly to possess some property, though it be only personal, be not defeated, but rather established; then even the vassal may live contented and happy in his humble habitation. And in such good circumstances very many of the boors belonging to the crown and the nobles actually are. This was evidently becoming more general from day to day, as the empress so uniformly displayed her unwearied attention to promote the welfare of the class of vassals. Examples were not wanting under her administration, of noblemen being brought to severe account for cruelties exercised on their vassals *. Indeed the many wise regulations that had been made, and were still making to the end of her reign, opened a fine prospect for futurity.

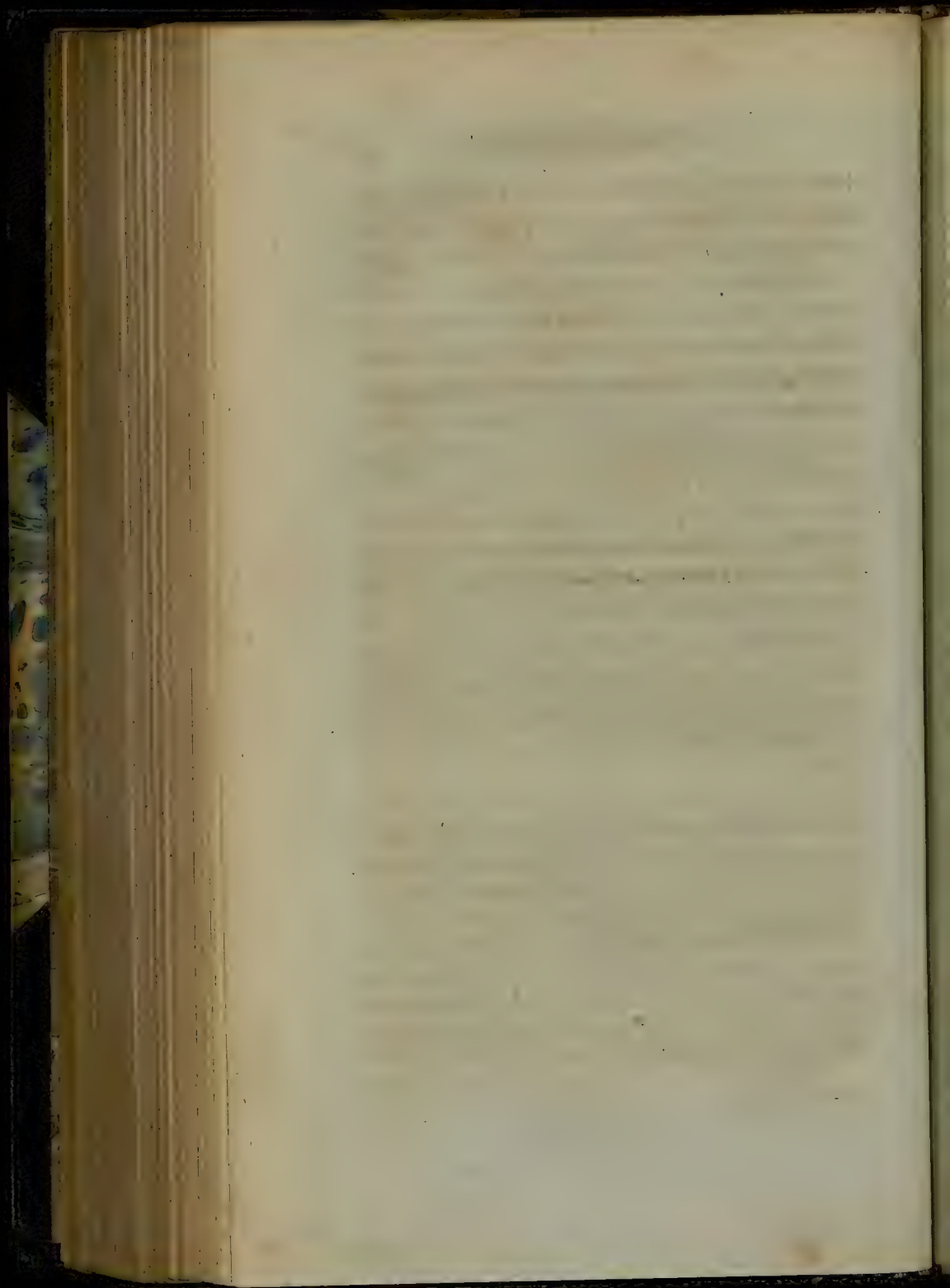
In concluding this article, it may be observed, that the most usual way by which a vassal is

* A german nobleman, with his lady, have been confined for several years past in a place on the shore of the Baltic, for having, both of them, exercised much cruelty in the chastisement of their vassals. — The very safety of the lord, without any other motive, should restrain him from such behaviour to his people. When once they are enraged they set no bounds to their fury; it has not unfrequently happened that a too austere landlord, or his no less imprudent bailiff, has been miserably murdered by the boors.

such,

such, is by being born of a vassal *. By the common law of Livonia every child born of an unmarried female vassal belongs, without regard to the father, to the estate where it is born. Peter I. however, by a ukase in 1716, ordained, that such a child shall be free if a free man have caused it to be baptised in his name, as father.

* In Livonia, the laws mention some other ways; however they are seldom heard of at present. There have been cases, where free people or their children have been sold for vassals; yet the tribunals grant them relief, at least the latter, when they come to demand their freedom.



V I E W
OF THE
R U S S I A N E M P I R E .

B O O K V .

THE GOVERNMENT OF THE EMPIRE, OR THE
MONARCH.

THE importance and the variety of the objects that fall under this title, demand a particular division of our work. But, in order to bring into some sort of arrangement the observations that naturally occur, some whereof may be considered as mere suppositions, and others as only questions *; we shall reduce them, without much sollicitude in the choice, under several heads.

* At this the reader will not be surpris'd if he consider that this matter has been but little agitated; and that the inquirer must frequently meet with obscurities, which probably will never be quite cleared up.

SECTION I.

The Succession.

RUSSIA, as far upwards as history reaches, has ever been an hereditary empire. For, though Ruric, on being called to the throne, did not ascend it on this express condition *, yet it was filled by his descendants till the race became extinct; that is, according to the usual computation, from about the year 862 to 1598. Such an uninterrupted succession, against which the nation never manifested the slightest objection, be it grounded as it may, is of greater validity than the most solemn compact, and should be considered as the acknowledged constitution of the empire. The people, at least the most enlightened of them, found it convenient and salutary, as obviating the confusions and calamities that arise from election. Accordingly, after the extinction of the race of Ruric, it was restored with all its force in another dynasty. For, when Michaila Feodorovitch Romanof

* Records which might here be consulted to advantage are not known, and perhaps are not in being. The archives of the empire have been searched in vain for accounts of a far more modern date.

ascended

ascended the throne in 1613, a charter was executed confirming it to him and all his posterity *; by which act Russia was in a formal manner declared a real hereditary empire.

The occasional modifications of this hereditary right of succession may be supposed, from want of records, to be scarcely deducible from remoter periods, especially as history, which ought to serve as a guide, relates events whence many doubts and uncertainties arise. The son does not always immediately succeed to his father in the government: one example of this, among others, is in the grand duke Vladimir Vsevolodovitch, who, dying in 1125, was succeeded by his three sons in the order of their birth; only the third, namely Vatsheffaf, reigned at last for some time conjointly with the son of his brother. It has frequently happened that the sons of the deceased grand duke have contended for the throne with their uncles. However, in early times a great regard was paid to seniority; thus Sviatopolk in 1093 mounted the throne, as the

* This appears from Schlœtzer's historical enquiry, p. 10. where it is also shewn that the original is among the archives of the empire, as that professor saw it there. The question, whether they who executed it were authorized and commissioned to that purpose, or whether they represented the nation, is nothing to the business, as the latter approved of it, at least by their silence; and this hereditary right was already 700 years old,

eldest of the reigning family. Therefore when Peter I. wanted to introduce some alteration in the antient rule of succession, he was obliged to add sharp menaces to his declaration; and yet great dissatisfaction was shewn on the occasion, though even by that ordinance the original succession was not destroyed, and though there was no law in being that regulates the succession, at least none that is known.

The history of the present century * shews that the crown devolves on either sex without distinction; so that, though we see in the family of Peter I. the male heir at times to have precedence, yet not an absolute pre-eminence over the females, since Catharine I. did not govern as regent during the minority of her kinsman, but was acknowledged as next heir in quality of consort to the defunct emperor, and acceded to the throne as empress in preference to her kinsman †.

* To attempt going farther back into remoter periods would be fruitless, as most of the events of those times, for want of a regular history, are by much not sufficiently known or unfolded. For this reason nothing is here said of the grand duchess Olga, of the tenth century, &c.

† The Chinese must have been but little acquainted with the European forms of government, as well as with the antient history of Persia, if we may judge by the astonishment expressed at this by their great officers of state: but they were soon taught better.

Some

Some do not scruple to affirm that Russia has always been the happiest and has always increased in power and authority under a female reign.

We learn from history that sometimes the monarch has been elected. It was by election that Vassilli Vassillievitch the Blind was seated on the throne. But the latest instance of this was when the crown was offered to the dowager duchess, afterwards empress Anne. By her father she had some right to it, but by far not the nearest, as her elder sister was still alive, and the testament of Catharine I. was against her. But who were the electors, or rather who have the right of election, and in what cases, we have no other means of discovering than by searching into history for events of that nature, and thence to form what conclusions we are able, since there is no written law upon the subject. Without going up to the reign of a Ruric for transactions veiled in obscurity, the history of the middle age takes notice of the grand duke Vassilli Vassillievitch the Blind, who in 1425 took the reins of empire, being placed on the grand ducal throne at the unanimous request of the moscovite people, with the concurrence of all the princes, as also of the clergy *. It seemed

* So Lomonosof expressly says in his compendious annals of the russian sovereigns. I take him for a guide, on the supposition that he has drawn from authentic sources. It is impossible to quote originals on this subject.

necessary

neccessary to mention this, because here certain electors are specified, namely, people, princes, and clergy; in which, however, several doubts and difficulties occur. Besides, this event belongs not properly to this place, as that grand duke demanded the government by right of succession, and the horde had at that time great influence. Examples ought to be taken from those times when the nation was entirely free, and under no foreign influence whatever. Such as when Boris Feodorovitch Godunof, in 1598, was seated on the throne "by the people* and "the boyars;" and on his death, in 1604, his son Feodor Borisovitch Godunof, "by all ranks "of the moscovite people." Shortly after this, Vassilli Ivanovitch Zuiskoi was elected czar †. During his reign some discontented boyars elected Vladislaf, a polish prince, to be their sovereign, but without effect ‡. In the year 1613 Mi-

* Lomonosof, p. 37. Another historian says, that the people almost forced him on the throne. But here neither the princes nor the clergy are mentioned as electors: the former perhaps are included among the boyars.

† Here Lomonosof does not at all specify who the electors were; probably because the authorities he consulted are silent upon it. — It is well known they were all three related to the tzarian family, extinct in the male line.

‡ The above-mentioned elections shew, that, with the relations of the reigning family, strangers and native or foreign princes came into consideration.

chaila

chaila Feodorovitch Romanof acceded to the throne by unanimous election "in a general assembly of the boyars and the other estates of the country," yet partly also as a near relation to the tzarian family now extinct in the male lineage; as also in virtue of nomination, by which his father had already been heir to the throne.

Now the first question is, who are we to understand by the people. Lomonosof speaks principally of the moscovite people, which is an expression of great ambiguity; for it may denote the burghers of the city of Mosco, exclusively; but then it must have been previously a city: in no law or proclamation is such right of election granted to it; whereas to other cities (several of which are far more antient) this right has been given. But it may likewise signify all the people of the whole empire, which is sometimes denominated from its metropolis: however, it is not to be imagined that the distant tribes and people were ever called to an election. Lastly, by this term may be implied only the chief nation, that which is properly russian: yet certainly the country-folks, the most numerous of all, were not consulted on these important occasions. Consequently, we must suppose it to have rested

4

with

with some *, who took the business upon them, or who had the confidence of the nation; and then, as the people approved of their choice, at least by their silence, it might properly be said that they elected †. Besides, as it often happens on like occasions, the people of the capital, or the Moscovites, under the conduct of a few forward and leading men, might have greatly contributed to it ‡.

2dly,

* It would be difficult to ascertain them; we must undoubtedly seek them among the following, as the archives of the empire afford no light on the subject.

† What is done by some few, if not contradicted by the rest, is frequently and not improperly considered as done by all. Thus the empress Elizabeth in her first manifesto might justly say, that all good subjects had wished her to mount the paternal throne. And the empress Anna might, without adducing other reasons, annul the election-capitulation she had signed, since she regarded herself as heiress to the crown, and was petitioned to annul it by a number of considerable noblemen, in the name of the people.

‡ In the succeeding revolutions the populace of the residence, being set in motion, have sometimes, with some soldiers of the guards, made themselves of consequence. And, indeed, how easy is it for a few active persons, by presents, promises, artful reports, and above all by the pretence of danger to religion, to lead the rabble at their pleasure; so that they may be instrumental to revolutions and
other

2dly, The princes here spoken of seem to have been either of that class who were afterwards called boyars, or they who possessed their partitioned principalities. Of the latter we find it said by a russian historian *, that, subsequent to the death of Mitislaf, they had arrogated to themselves so much power, that they looked upon the grand duke as their equal, and allowed him no precedence but what his title gave him. Such princes have long since been no more seen in Russia; but when Vassili Vassillievitch the Blind was elected they were still in being. The present numerous stock of princes are no legitimate delegates of the people, nor ever were authorized to proceed to so important an election, and have no pre-eminence over the other nobles.

3. The clergy, as in other empires and kingdoms, found also in Russia numerous opportunities formerly of acquiring great influence and authority †. Accordingly, we are informed by

other purposes, though perhaps scarcely ten persons of them all know any thing of what is intended! Happy, when such scenes pass off without disturbance!

* Tatischtschef.

† As in other countries, so in Russia, they had a little more knowledge than the laity; hence they acquired access and influence. In aid of this perhaps here and there superstition and cunning were made to play their parts.

Tatisch-

Tatishchev, that in the disastrous periods of the empire, the people shewed more reverence to them than to their princes; by which they got so far the ascendant, that czar Alexei Michailovitch was prevented from making the full use of his power, by the ambitious patriarch Nikon. Accordingly it must have been a very easy matter for the clergy, especially for the higher orders of them, to mix in the affair of elections, and to lead the submissive people to their purposes. Nor was this impropriety entirely annihilated till the time of Peter the Great, who confined the clergy to their proper department.

4. The boyars have been already occasionally mentioned. It only remains to be remarked, that though they are always spoken of in history as persons of distinction, yet it expressly mentions that they received their dignity from the sovereign alone, that it was entirely personal, and by no means descended from father to son*. Hence it is apparent that it depended solely on the will of the monarch, whether he would have many or few boyars, or whether he would let

* As a proof of this the reader is referred to the life of count Scheremetof, published in Dohm's Materials; where we find, p. 403, that Nikita Scheremetof dying as boyar in 1566, his only son Peter was raised to the same dignity, whose second son Vassili was likewise made boyar in 1641, and again his son Peter in 1659.

them

them altogether die away. Consequently they can never be considered as native privileged deputies of the people *, nor as persons who could curb the power of the sovereign; or resist him in the undue exertions of it. Only on favourable occasions they grew more bold and assuming, and sought to extend their consequence. It has before been shewn that they, with the principal clergy, conferred a species of noblesse on particular persons; and Tatishcheff mentions, that, upon the deposition of tzar Zuiskoi, seven boyars, and especially three of them, had usurped so much authority, that they brought great distress upon the empire. At the drawing up of the Uloshenie, as we gather from its preamble, they, with the heads of the clergy, were consulted upon it; yet probably only as privy-counsellors, as they were generally noticed as such in the ukases. But, in order to prevent any farther usurpations and mistakes, an order was issued in 1701 by Peter I. that they should no longer be mentioned at all in ukases. From

* What the word boyar or boyarin properly means, I cannot precisely ascertain. In the dictionaries it is made to imply a lord, a person of quality, a nobleman. In a note upon Raicewich's observations on Moldavia, it peculiarly denotes a soldier.

the great authority they enjoyed, and from the desire of extending it, so natural to man, we are easily led to presume, that they acted the foremost parts in these elections, if they were not the prime managers of them: they doubtless thought themselves the first personages after the sovereign and the privileged representatives of the people, especially of all the rest of the nobility; and this seems to be the reason why the latter are not named among the electors.

5. The states of the moscovite people, and the estates of the country. — What kind of people and classes are here meant, I cannot pretend to say, if they differ from those already mentioned. Legitimate national estates, having an authority derived from compact or privileges, (according to the common import of the term in some other empires,) are not known in Russia; nor could they ever have existed there, as the power of the sovereign was originally and has always been unlimited. One might almost venture to affirm, that, by the estates, as electors are principally meant the boyars and the clergy, who appear nominally as such, and often had great influence. Perhaps some of the courtiers and the neighbouring nobility, might have joined with them, as well as other enterprising persons, and especially
the

the people of the residence^{*}; other towns whose consequence was not very great, we are certain neither appointed nor required any election-deputies. Lomonosof, indeed, speaks of a general assembly of country-estates; but it would be extremely difficult to give any tolerable sense to this expression if we would extend the limits of such a convention beyond the above-mentioned persons in the neighbourhood of Mosco. For, although some traces of considerable assemblies do appear in history.[†]; yet, at least in those turbulent and stormy times about the year 1613, when the family of Romanof was elected to the succession, a convocation of election-deputies out of the empire is not to be imagined; and if they were actually assembled, it would have been nothing more than an anarchical mob, as having

* All these are mere surmises. The acts and records of these elections, perhaps among the archives of the empire, alone could place this matter in a proper light, if they were but known.

† Not to touch here on what Nestor tells us of Rurik's election, in which obscurities abound, I shall only quote what Tatishcheff mentions, that Romanus, prince of Halitz, intended to hold a diet, to which he invited all the princes; but they did not come; and that Ivan the Great caused a law to be confirmed in a diet. — At the compiling of the Ulofchenie the boyars and clergy seem to have been assembled; but not in a diet. The two latter had a legitimate chief in the person of the sovereign.

no lawful president or spring of action; consequently no other election was to be expected, than what some enterprising men, with violence, or by bribes and persuasions, brought about.

In the former half of the current century, it seemed as if the council held itself authorised to take an active part in the election of the empress Anna*. Indeed it is said in the manifesto that came out on the occasion, Feb. 4, 1730, that she was raised to the throne by the unanimous choice of the russian nation: there were, therefore, three deputed bodies at it, on the part of the council, the senate, and the commonalty. But Schloetzer, who appeals to this in his historical inquiries, has clearly expressed himself on its true meaning, by saying, that here are three imperial estates in a manner specified by name†; and

* This transaction is here noticed merely for the sake of an apparently necessary remark; it not being exactly to the purpose, as there were heirs to the throne.

† If there had then been no heir to the throne, and consequently an election was necessary, then the question would have really been, to whom does the care of it belong? There were no states of the empire; not even an officer, who could lawfully take upon him to call an assembly. In lieu of the former boyars, here were now a senate, a council, a cabinet, and a privy-council. But which of these had ever any commission to declare to the people the vacancy of the throne, or to direct an election to fill it? Some measures

and that of the clergy no mention is made *. Just as little had the council full powers, or any right to prescribe a mode or conditions of election in regard to the empress Anna, especially as she was among the heirs to the throne. Very different was the case, when the prince Vassili Zuiskoi, who was regarded as an entire stranger, was chosen tzar, on the extinction of the reign-

are only to be justified or excused by necessity and the silence of the laws. But how came the commonalty to be brought on the carpet? We know that antiently the soldiers at Rome and at Constantinople, took upon them, either alone or in conjunction with the clergy, to dispose of the crown. — Here the constitution of the empire, for preventing all calamitous accidents, seems to want a salutary regulation. Whoever shall provide it, and secure it in perpetuity, will be one of the greatest benefactors to the empire it ever had. Perhaps it would have had a place in the expected new code of laws.

* Probably because they are comprehended in the aggregate term nation, or because they seemed to have lost their former great influence; or because some german ministers, then in high favour, did not happen to think of them. The empress Elizabeth named them expressly in her first manifesto, where we find, that all the faithful subjects of the spiritual and temporal orders, particularly the regiments of life-guards, had unanimously besought her graciously to accept of the throne of her fathers, to which she had the nearest right by birth. — That by the guards, or by some of that corps, many things have been formerly brought about, is universally known.

ing house: whereby the nation re-entered into its original rights; and, if it had thought fit, might have proposed to him certain conditions. Accordingly, Tatishcheff asserts, that the capitulation, which, not the people, but a company of some grandees, by their usurped authority, prescribed to him, was of great injury to the empire.

We find also that sovereigns, during their lifetime have chosen and appointed the successor. So the czar Feodor Ivanovitch bequeathed the throne in 1598 to his kinsman Feodor Nikititch Romanoff; and czar Feodor Alexevitch on his death-bed appointed his youngest brother Peter, afterwards emperor, his sole heir*. The same thing has several times happened in the present century, by testaments, decrees, cessions, and the like. The right or full power to such a measure, seems to require no proof; as, 1. the sovereigns of Russia reign with unlimited authority; but,

* Though both nominations partly failed of accomplishment, yet it was not because they were thought invalid; but from the occurrence of some events which prevented their being put in execution; as afterwards the empress Elizabeth annulled the nomination of prince Ivan. But such nominations in earlier times as that of czar Ivan Vasilievitch (to which Peter I. appeals in his regulation of the succession, but of which the records are unknown) were acknowledged to be of undoubted validity.

more.

moreover, 2. neither records nor any other memorials can be produced, whereby the people reserved to themselves an influence, or fixed the succession to the reigning family *; and, 3. they never contradicted such nomination, but approved it by their silence, and of course acknowledged the full right of the monarch: which arguments are strengthened and increased, on considering, 4. that the people at the very beginning made their throne hereditary, and afterwards renewed and confirmed this mode of succession, as confessedly advantageous, principally in the view of avoiding all the confusions that would ensue on every interregnum, or in their own proceedings at elections; and thereby solemnly renounced its concern in the succession, so long as the reigning house is in being; leaving it, in so far as it comprised the original right of election, to their sovereign and his unlimited will. That this antient right of the sovereign to name his successor, exercised in former times, and acknowledged by the nation,

* Indeed it was required of the empress Anne, previous to her accession, that she should not appoint a successor without the concurrence of the senate: though this was no demand of the nation, but merely of a college, and was immediately annulled at the request of a part of the nobility.

and so frequently necessary to the well-being of the empire, may be exerted, follows accordingly from the essential constitution of the empire, which bears the form of a fundamental law. Therefore it required no written ordinance to make it valid. Peter the Great, however, issued such an ordinance, dated the 5th of February 1722, but merely on account of a well-known event, in order to give his will and his views the stamp of a greater solemnity by a written law, and to prevent any ill consequences that might ensue upon some dissatisfactions that had been expressed. Hereupon arose the questions, how this ordinance was to be called *; whether it should be deemed a fundamental law of the empire †, or whether at least it has a general obligatory

* Gebauer in the plan of his history calls it a perpetual law of the empire. It was manifestly, on its first appearance, a law of the empire; but the epithet perpetual was given it by the author without due consideration. He must have known nothing of the subsequent repeal of it.

† On this subject, a learned controversy arose between Büsching and Schlotzer. The former affirms, even in the last edition of his Geography, that ordinance to be a fundamental law of the empire, and even the only one in writing; whereas Schlotzer proves in his historical inquiries, that it can by no means be regarded as such, for the veriest despot cannot reign or command after his death. But here the fallacy

obligatory and perpetual energy, as it was one while not observed *, and afterwards almost totally repealed : though it is not to be denied that the empress Anna expressly appealed to it †.

fallacy lies solely in the expression : for every monarch reigns after his death, whenever he confers a privilege or a patent of nobility to a man and his heirs for ever. And does not every man that leaves a will preside over his affairs after his death ?

* Not to mention other occurrences of a like nature, it is evident that the empress Elizabeth, who endeavoured to preserve and follow all the regulations of her father with a conscientious exactitude, yet on her accession to the throne, so far from holding the ordinance to be a fundamental law of the empire, she denied its validity. For, though she regarded the accession of Anne as contrary to law, yet she could not deny that she was really empress ; and therefore by the father's pretended fundamental law of the empire, had the right of naming a successor. But, as she expressly annulled this nomination, resting on the ordinance of Peter I. she thereby publicly declared what binding force she attributed to that ordinance. Indeed she might have derived her right to the throne partly from the testament of her mother Catharine I. but this was not entirely executed when Elizabeth took upon her the government of the empire ; and therefore no mention is made of it in her manifesto.

† This she did because that ordinance favoured her views, to which she thought to give more solemnity and force from a written law. At least such were the expectations of the cabinet minister.

It is mere evasion to say that the ordinance of Peter I. is a fundamental law of the empire, not for the sovereign, but for the subjects in regard to their oaths *; as they are at any rate bound to obedience †. Every successor of Peter I. is doubtless at liberty to repeal this ordinance, or to depart from it, since his power is as unlimited as that of the monarch by whom it was framed. So every one of them can exercise in his own person the right of nominating a successor; but the rights connected with the unlimited sovereignty, and flowing from the constitution, to which the nomination of a successor, for the above-mentioned reasons may be added, adhere to the throne; which is in some measure seen by the conduct of Peter II.

In the nomination of a successor, by the unlimited power of the sovereign, it seems to

* Peter I. caused his ordinance of succession to be acknowledged on oath by all his subjects, which otherwise used to be done only by homages; and added severe threats to it, which, as Schlötzer observes, is not the part of a fundamental law; however, this, even in republics, admits of an exception.

† It would have been a ridiculous and awkward circumstance if a subject had thought fit to declare the accession of the empress Elizabeth illegal by reason of the pretended fundamental law of Peter I.

depend

depend on him, whether he will appoint to the throne one of his sons or daughters, or whom he pleases of the members of the reigning family. But the matter immediately assumes another aspect, on putting the question: whether, passing by all the princes and princesses of the reigning house, the nomination may fall on a perfect stranger? The ordinance of Peter the great, and the commentary upon it, soon after published by authority, contain an answer to this question in the affirmative. But then the first and universally acknowledged fundamental law, the inheritance of the throne in the reigning house, (whence the very right of appointing a successor is partly to be derived,) seems to fall to the ground*; not to mention the lamentable condition into which such a step might soon involve the empire. Lastly, the question: whether the sovereign may prescribe to the successor appointed by him certain limitations and rules of government? would not easily be answered. At least they should seem to be no otherwise

* It might therefore be asked: whether the stranger, on the said supposition, could ever receive a well-founded right to the succession by such an appointment; and, whether the power of the sovereign, when his family is extinct, extends to strangers?

binding

binding than in virtue of a voluntary and solemn promise; as the successor, as soon as he had ascended the throne, fills it with the same unlimited sway as his predecessor.

On a vacancy in the throne, the heir * takes possession of it, as in other countries, without needing any invitation, acts of homage, or the like. However, the homage is usually performed in all cities and towns, where an officer is appointed to receive it †. It is paid by every class of subjects ‡. The sovereign may dispense with it; as the subjects, without that ceremony, are bound to fidelity and obedience: however, as a venerable rite, it is generally observed; though in revolutions it has been neglected, as examples in the present century have shewn. The coronation solemnity too has for many centuries been customary in Russia, and is still preserved

* Whether by birthright; or, where that is not pretended, in virtue of nomination; as the sure and legitimate ways to the throne.

† In the oath of fealty mention is sometimes made of the heir apparent.

‡ It is not usual to administer it to vassals, at least not always or universally; they being regarded as people who have no will of their own, but are subject to that of their lord.

also

also as a venerable usage*: considered in itself perhaps it might not be necessary, as the sovereign previous to it exercises the whole of his authority; therefore it has frequently been postponed for a long time; and, indeed, the emperor Peter III. was not crowned at all, nor were any preparations made for that purpose during his short reign.

Since the introduction of christianity into Russia, the sovereigns have always professed themselves of the orthodox greek church; therefore the persons appointed to the throne, or coming into the imperial family, previously adopt that faith, if they were before of any other confession. Some affirm this ancient custom to be a fundamental law of the empire; at least we may well imagine that the majority of the principal nation, who have always shewn a strong attachment to their church, should be of this opinion.

It may just be remarked, by the way, that according to the manner of speaking here in use, instead of the sovereign, they say, the crown: for example; that is the business of the crown; an order is come from the crown, &c.

* On this occasion the sovereign is anointed with holy oil, and puts the crown on himself; as, among other testimonies, may be seen by the manifesto of the late empress, bearing date July 7, 1762.

SECTION II.

The title of the Sovereign.

FORMERLY the sovereign was always called Great Duke, in rufs Velikie Knia's, which, according to its original interpretation and import, must be translated as above. If, as we are assured by some russian annalists, the territory of Novgorod, as well as that of Kief, were great-dukedom's so early as the ninth century, then the origin of this title is apparent *. Yet this interpretation may also lead us to suppose it meant to distinguish the sovereign from all the other princes, especially the reigning ones, of which there have always been several, as far as authentic history reaches †. But all the russian prin-

* But here it may be asked, whether perhaps they might not be grand duchies, because their governors were originally called grand dukes. And then the matter would not be at all the more elucidated. Of the first rise of this title I do not recollect to have read any satisfactory account.

† They were of two several kinds. Some possessed separate and independent principalities or great duchies; of which kind were particularly Novgorod, Kief, and afterwards Vladimir, &c.; others had a principality dependent on the russian government allotted them merely for their support.

principalities were united in one monarchy, under one sole regent, upwards of 326 years since. Ivan Vassillievitch, as it is commonly asserted, declared himself tzar in the year 1547; yet in the history of this empire we find that title expressly given to its sovereigns long before *, whether they actually bore it †, or whether the old annalists used it only to signify a monarchical dig-

support. It seems not possible now to ascertain what rights the latter enjoyed; and to what extent they with their principalities belonged to the body politic. All we pretend to know is, that Vladimir, who began to reign in 981, and is frequently called a saint, assigned a principality to each of his sons for his maintenance, thus making them separate princes, but with this express condition, that they should all be under the supremacy of him and his successors.

* So it is said by Lomonosof. Vladimir the saint, who died in 1015, had assumed the title of tzar upon his marriage with a greek princess. The same author affirms, that not only Vladimir Vsevolodovitch Monomachus, who began to reign in 1114, was crowned tzar of all Russia; but also that Vassilli Ivanovitch, who died in 1535, styled himself in the latter years of his reign, tzar and autocrator of all Russia.

† If they were actually called tzars (which, before we can admit, ought to be more clearly shewn), then it is evident that this title was not first introduced into Russia in 1547; but then it is inexplicable why it was not borne by all great dukes: it might be that the horde which was most prevalent at the time prevented or refused it.

nity

nity without election, or that later historians have arbitrarily employed it without sufficient authority *. In the russian bible it signifies a king †; yet the old authors use it likewise when they

* But this can only be determined by old records. However, the accurate appropriation of it to the above-mentioned Vassili Ivanovitch seems to vouch for the veracity of Lomonosof in delivering the tzar's title, that he does not give it arbitrarily or negligently; but as he found it in the annals. — But, as the whole of the present inquiry more properly belongs to the departments of history and antiquities than to this place, so there is no need to dwell any longer upon it.

† Thus the derivative tzarstvo, kingdom, which is even extended to the kingdoms of nature, the animal kingdom, the vegetable kingdom, &c. At present in the russian tongue a king is called korol, and the derivative kingdom, korolevstvo. — That it is only the Russians, and not the other flavonian nations, that denote a sovereign by the word tzar, we learn from the learned M. Anton. And this leads to the inquiry whence the word is taken. We can hardly imagine it to be formed by an abbreviation of the word cæsar, which indeed they pronounce, in common with the Germans, tsesar. But we will just notice a suggestion that now offers. In the russian histories frequent mention is made of tartarian and siberian tzars and tzarevitches, i. e. sons of tzars. Thus, among others, Ritchkof, in his history of Kazan, speaks of the tzar of the golden horde, the tzar of the Krim, the tzar of Kazan, which bears an obvious signification. This title has not been carelessly transferred into the russian histories and appropriated

to

they speak of the emperors of Greece*. The largeness of the territory, to which no kingdom is comparable, but which even consists of several kingdoms, long ago obtained for it the name of an empire. Peter I. thought proper to assume the denomination of emperor, in the year 1721, at the instance of the chief of his subjects †; and the im-

to its monarch, for they have always borne it since the conquest of that country, and, therefore, in the empress's title she was called "tzarina of Kazan; tzarina of Siberia," &c. We may consequently with great propriety suppose, that the russian nation, finding these tzars at the head of the neighbouring tribes, borrowed the title from them, and adopted it in the russian language, to which it is perfectly foreign. However, this is only surmise, it may have come into use by some other way.

* Therefore we are not to be surprised that the translators at Mosco constantly translate the word tzar by that of emperor. Yet the word kefar was adopted into the russian tongue to signify a roman emperor, (probably from the greek bible, which came into Russia with the christian religion,) which was afterwards changed for tzefar, and at last for imperator.

† When we find in some authors, that Peter I. adopted the title of emperor, which was given him by his subjects, it must be said that they express themselves too indefinitely, and as if it were done by a general resolution of the nation. The fact is, that some of the principal persons (among whom are chiefly meant the public colleges and boards) proposed it to him.

perial title has been borne ever since by the sovereigns of Russia. For whom, in the masculine gender the word *imperator** was adopted, but an *empress* is styled *imperatritza*. At first some trifling difficulties were raised by two foreign courts about acknowledging this title; but they were soon removed †. All potentates agree in giving the imperial title to the sovereign of Russia.

The abridged title, usual in *ukases*, sentences, commands, petitions, &c. is, emperor and autocrat ‡, or, *empress* and *autocratix*, of all Russia,

* The emperor of Germany is likewise so called at court and in the public acts, but the common people denote him by *Rymski tzar*, the roman *tzar*.

† The french court at first would not directly acknowledge the sovereign of Russia as emperor, but only as russian emperor. This was certainly curious; the german emperor is still emperor, and so the russian.

‡ It is not possible, I think, to put this word into english, but by a periphrasis. Self-ruler, or sole-ruler, do not come up to it. Perhaps uncontrollable-ruler is nearest the mark. — In the russian it is: *Samoderjetz Vserossiiskiyi*, or, of an *empress*: *Samoderjitza Vserossiiskaia*. The addition, as properly an adjective, is, by the two above expressions “of all Russia,” or, “of all the Russias,” not exactly rendered: the english language having no term for it. Every attempt to give it a more just or literal translation, would have idiom, gender, or syntax, or grammar against it,

Russia, or of all the Russias. The term autocrat denotes the sovereign and unlimited authority; the addition, of all Russia, or of all the Russias, relates to the union of all the formerly distinct principalities into a monarchy under one sole ruler*.

The full title borne by the empress runs as follows: Empress and autocratrix of all the Russias, of Mosco, Kief, Vladimir, Novgorod, tzarina of Kazan, tzarina of Astrakhan, tzarina of Siberia, tzarina of the Taurida Chersonese, lady of Pskove, and grand duchess of Smolensk, princess of Esthonia, Livonia, Karelia †, Tver,

it, and at last would be of little consequence. Samoderjetz is compounded of *sam*, self, and *derjetz*. If the latter be derived from *derju*, I hold, then samoderjetz is a self-holder. And thus it is sometimes translated, e. g. in the russian articles of war, for the use of such foreigners as are in the service.

* They who imagine, says M. Hupel, that the several parts of Russia, now called by different names, viz. Great Russia, Little Russia, and White Russia, to be here meant, have the authority of history against them. For, long before Little Russia, for instance, submitted to the russian monarchs, they already bore the title of Samoderjetz of all the Russias.

† By Karelia is meant the present government of Vyborg, which is often called Finland.

Yugoria *, Permia, Viatka, Bolgaria, and other countries : lady and grand duchess of Novgorod of the lower country †, of Tschernigof, Riazan, Polotsk, Rostof, Yaroslavl, Bielozero, Udoria †, Obdoria §, Kondia ||, Vitepsk, Mstislavl, commandress of the whole northern region, and lady of the country of Iveria δ; of the kartalinian

* This is a part of the government of Archangel, namely the district of Pustozero, and about the mouth of the Petchora. Yugoria is an obsolete country-appellative, of which several appear in the imperial title, preserved from antient times : they generally denote only small tracts of country.

† This means Nishnei-Novgorod.

‡ Likewise an obsolete name, formerly borne by the district about the river Mese, especially at its entrance.

§ By this obsolete name, which took its origin from the river Oby, is meant the district of Berefof, in the government of Tobolsk. Tzar Vassili Ivanovitch was the first that put Obdoria in his title.

|| It denotes the region of the river Konda, which flows into the Irtysh.

δ About this country very little information is to be had. Perhaps we are to look for it in the district of the Valdai, where the old famous iverian monastery stood. However the reader may not be displeased to see three several answers to letters of inquiry on this subject. The first (which also coincides with the opinion of a senator who gave it to Mr. Hupel) runs thus : " By the Iveria from which the late empress styled herself lady of the country of Iveria, or more properly

nian and grusinian tzars, and of the kabardian country, of the Tscherkassian and mountain-

“ perly according to the russian, the iberian country (1), is
 “ undoubtedly meant the antient Iberia. But it appears
 “ that at present no country is any longer called Iberia,
 “ nor any nation the iberian. Busching, who always proceeds warily in his accounts, says Georgia consists of the
 “ antient countries Iberia and Colchis. — The division of
 “ the iberian monarchy into three chief parts still continues; these are, Imeretia, Kargvelia, (with the Russians
 “ Kartalinia,) and Kachetia. — But generally by such adjectives we are not always to understand a particular, and
 “ still less a whole country, as we see, for instance, in Kondinskii. There are indeed two volosts (2), which are, or
 “ were, called the great and the little Konda: but long ere these came under the russian sovereignty, Kondinskii
 “ or Kondinskii was a part of the tzarian title, and consequently meant no more than that the tzarian territory extended to the river Konda, or to those two volosts. Thus
 “ count Romanzof bears the surname Zadunaiskii, though no country is call Zadunaia.” On this mode of deduction a person of distinction wrote in his letter the following remarks: “ The foregoing opinion would have some
 “ probability, if it were previously shewn that the antient Colchis, or the three georgian or grusinian provinces on
 “ mount Caucasus, formerly composed a monarchy under the name of Iberia. At least this style in the tzarian
 “ title was not adopted earlier than the time when the

(1) Iverskiya semli.

(2) Districts.

tain-princes, and of others, hereditary lady and sovereign.

In the letter of grace, which the late empress wrote to the nobility collectively, she adds the following declaration after her title: "It is known to all people, that this title of our sole dominion is no imaginary empire, or not in subjection to us, nor containing foreign principalities, provinces, towns, and countries, but marks our wide-extended and numerous possessions by the shortest terms *."

It is farther to be remarked, that in former ukases and manifestos we always find: "By the grace of God, we Catharine the second,"

"princes of these countries came into some connexion with Russia, which was not, and then a very insignificant one, till the reign of Ivan Vassilievitch II. whereas it is certain that the said three provinces at that time bore the same appellation they do at present." Lastly, a third writes: "There is still an Iberia, through which the river Hippus flows, coming from the caucasean mountains: but whether this be the Iberia in the imperial title, I conceive to want farther examination."

* There are really many countries and provinces subject to the russian sceptre which are not named in the imperial title; for instance, the country of the Kirghises, and the lately naturalized Tshuktshi; not to mention the islands in the Eastern ocean, which have never belonged to Siberia.

&c.:

&c. : but in the two before-mentioned gracious epistles it is : “ By the bountiful grace of God, “ we Catharine the second, &c.” Lastly, majesty in the russian is expressed by velitchestvo, which indeed implies majesty, but is originally a designation of greatness, being apparently derived from veliki, great.

SECTION III.

The power, authority, and prerogatives of the Sovereign.

THESE objects are not only of the greatest importance, but form perhaps the most difficult problems of the russian constitution * ; and therefore demand all possible care in the discrimination.

It is notorious, and the empress declares it in her instructions for the code-commissioners,

* Even ministers themselves, on being interrogated on this subject, have confessed that it would cost them some trouble to deliver a direct and satisfactory solution of them. This is mentioned merely lest the reader should be afraid of being wearied with a long and tedious disquisition, or expect a complete satisfactory analysis of a matter, on which he must content himself only with fragments. And as we know of no book that could here serve as a guide, it is hoped he will pardon any mistake he may detect.

sect. ix. and x. that the monarch of Russia is unlimited, or has an unlimited authority. But we are not hence to infer, that the people at large, and its several classes have not certain rights either derived from immemorial custom or gradually introduced*.

From the Russian historians, particularly those who discover a scrutinizing view, it appears that this unlimited authority has ever belonged to the sovereigns of Russia, and that the empire has always prospered with it; whereas it has regularly felt a considerable detriment as often as some bold and enterprising party has presumed to bring it within bounds. According to Tatishchev it was Ruric that assumed unlimited authority, and that it continued with his successors till Mstislaf the great; at which period the separate princes began to grow so powerful, and the clergy exacted such great veneration, that the welfare of the empire was evidently declining. But Ivan the great regained the former authority and power, and Ivan the Terrible, or

* Several foreigners, and particularly travellers, from haste and ignorance have omitted to take these into their accounts; and thus have given rise to many wrong notions concerning the government of this country: neither have some of them been sparing of the terms despotism and slavery, which are by no means applicable to it.

the second, confirmed it, which remained to the sovereigns that followed till the time of the false Demetrius; when some boyars found opportunity to usurp a power that brought great distress on the empire. Tzar Alexei Michailovitch, with all his abilities, found it impossible to recover it entirely; prevented at first by the ambition of Nikon, and after the deposition of that patriarch, by a lingering disease, that at last put an end to his life. It was reserved for Peter the great to retrieve the long lost unlimited authority*. And, though upon the demise of Peter II. the privy council stretched its power so far as to propose to the empress Anna, previously to her accession, the subscription to a set of articles by which her authority was circumscribed†, yet the nobility, on being informed of the plan, defeated it immediately by presenting

* It might nearly be affirmed that he enlarged it; as, among other ways, instead of the lordly domineering patriarch, idolized by the people, he instituted a spiritual college devoted to himself, the synod; and thus acquired a spiritual in addition to his temporal power.

† It is said, that the generalfeldmarechal count Munich, as soon as he heard of the design of the council, immediately dispatched a courier, by a particular road, to Mitau, begging her to subscribe to the whole of it without hesitation, and afterwards to act as she pleased.

a petition, wherein they besought her to reject the proposal as highly indecent, and to use the fulness of power that was her due, to the benefit and glory of herself and the empire *. This she did : and it has remained with the crown unaltered to the present day.

This unlimited power, as the empress herself declares in her Instruction, sect. xiii. and xix. by no means consists in the privation of the natural liberty of the subjects, but in this, that the inferior powers are subordinate to the sovereign and dependent upon him. Accordingly, in the russian empire there is nothing that can oppose itself to the emission of an imperial decree : there being neither diet, nor national assembly, nor estates of the empire, nor parliament, nor college, or any thing of a like nature, authorised in the name of the people, or merely of themselves, to judge of the conduct of the sovereign, or his prime minister, acting under his orders, and in anywise to try his ukases before they are enforced, or in any manner to take part in the legislative and other prerogatives of majesty. It

* Tatishchev mentions that at first upwards of 70 persons, and then 360 others, of the principal nobility, presented this petition. — They were apprehensive that a power divided between the throne and a council or senate, might have a tendency to bring back the former confusions.

is true, the directing senate, as the supreme court of the empire, is invested with a peculiar authority; yet it is not the representative * of the people, but supreme court of judicature †, and executor of the decrees sent to it. No more can a council or cabinet control the will of the sovereign; since either, as well as the senate, exists only through him, and is dependent upon him. The proceeding of the council at the accession of the empress Anna, about setting limits to the imperial power, and appropriating a part of it to itself, with the senate, which had approved of the whole plan, was nothing but usurpation, and therefore is not to the purpose. Peter the first, gave express permission, as well to the senate as to other colleges of the empire, on receiving an ukase apparently detrimental; that is, if they conceived the subject, it had not been properly represented to the monarch, to defer the enforcement of it, and to shew their

* Except perhaps in cases, where it is held proper to return thanks for marks of favour bestowed upon the empire, or to carry up a general felicitation. Though this seems to be more in their own corporate than in any sort of representative capacity.

† It is understood of itself that the empress can reform its judgments of her own accord, or in her cabinet, though it is not often done.

objections

objections in a remonstrance * ; at the same time adding, that if that ukase were repeated they should conform to it without farther delay. The late empress renewed this permission, by expressly declaring in her instruction to the commissioners for framing a code of laws, sect. xxiv. “ The courts of justice are carefully to examine
 “ the laws they receive from the monarch, and
 “ have the right to make representations, in
 “ case they find any thing in them that runs
 “ counter to the law-book.” And, in sect. xxvii. it is added: that “ they may and should make
 “ such representations †.” Agreeably to this, it
 is

* This alone is sufficient to refute the opinion that immenoi ukases, i. e. ukases signed by the empress’s own hand, are so irreversible that even no remonstrance can be brought against them. In cases of great emergency even private individuals have presented them. As an instance we may mention the princess Kantemir, who received a determination of the cabinet in regard to the negligence of her spouse, which granted her but little, and assigned almost all to the other heirs. She delivered a petition to the empress Anna, in which she said, she appealed from a monarch not sufficiently informed of the matter, to one better acquainted with it. The empress, somewhat nettled, ordered a commission to re-examine the case; and the princess gained her suit.

† It needs not to be remarked, that such remonstrances can never degenerate into opposition, but that a reiterated
 decree

is said, in the ordinance for the administration of the government, sect. ci. "On important and
 " extraordinary occasions, or on the receipt of
 " new and general laws, the imperial viceroy
 " may call together the penal, civil, and crown
 " courts, to take the matter into their common
 " consideration conjointly with the persons in
 " the administration of that government. If
 " among the new general laws, a law is found
 " any way improper, it is allowable for the said
 " assembly to make a unanimous representation
 " to the senate upon it*. But if the ordinance
 " be confirmed in a superior place, it behoves
 " them to pay entire obedience to it without
 " contradiction." Of the influence formerly
 acquired by the boyars and the heads of the
 clergy, notice has already been taken: when-

decree must be carried into effect. We may observe, by the way, that here a right is expressly granted to the courts of judicature: therefore the reader not sufficiently acquainted with the true state of the case, will cease to wonder at mention being made of certain rights of the people.

* A wise and salutary regulation: for an imperial college may mistake in the framing of a decree, or may improperly represent the state of the case, through negligence or design. In such a large empire it might happen that a decree was issued contrary to the intention of the sovereign, or a law brought out by stealth, or wrongly interpreted, &c.

ever

ever it exceeded the bounds of a subordinate power, it was pure usurpation; only the monarch, who elected them at his pleasure, was at liberty to use their advice, and when he saw good to delegate to them a part of his authority, as is sometimes done to a college, a minister *, &c. Therefore the empress says, in her Instruction, sect. xx. that the sovereign alone communicates power, and this flows through the courts of justice.

In virtue of his unlimited power, the sovereign, without being subject to any account or control whatever †, can give new laws whenever he thinks proper, or alter those in being according to the exigences of the empire; can make war and peace ‡, raise taxes, levy recruits, grant privileges and exemptions, confer titles and dignities §, have or abolish monopolies, settle im-

* Thus the empress Anna granted to count Munich, particularly when he was at a distance from the army, an extensive authority till then not customary, which gave great umbrage to several generals and staff-officers, and of the exercise of which all sorts of anecdotes are told.

† Accordingly the empress in her Instruction, &c. confines the legislation entirely to him.

‡ It is customary at present to state the motives in the proclamation.

§ Such as creating princes, counts, barons; in short, raising persons to the noblesse.

perial dues *, or abrogate them, grant away or sell domains at pleasure †, or increase them by purchase, conquest, negotiation ‡, &c.

The most unlimited ruler, even the greatest despot, if not misled by flatterers or the influence of unruly passions, will feel a counterpoise within his breast restraining him from manifest oppressions, violences, and other noxious measures § : yet it is notorious that in despotic governments, the honour, the property, and the life of the

* So the late emperess relinquished the imperialia exacted of the mine-works by Peter the great.

† Thus in the whole course of the present century all the russian emperors and emperesses have made grants of numberless crown-estates.

‡ Examples of the actual and unmolested exercise of all these prerogatives, appear throughout the russian history, especially the modern.

§ To which may be added, his own interest, which must be intimately connected with that of the country ; the internal sense or conscience ; a laudable ambition and the desire of leaving a good name behind him to posterity ; an honest pleasure in the approbation of the people ; the dread of discontents or loud murmurs, invective speeches among the subjects, or even rebellions, &c. — As an excellent illustration of this, we may refer to the hint in the Instruction, &c. sect. xcii. concerning the spirit by which the civil government ought to be actuated.

subject

subject are dependent on the humour of the prince. Quite different is the case in the russian empire: its various tribes and classes have their peculiar rights, may enjoy them undisturbed, and appeal to them when occasion requires; reputation, property, and life, except in criminal cases, are inviolable, which the empress, in her Instruction, sect. cxiv. expressly establishes as a fundamental principle of the russian form of government; no man is condemned unheard, but every one, even a traitor or a rebel, enjoys the benefit of defence; the laws are enforced, and all causes must be determined by them. Of equal validity are customs and usages*; all contracts are fulfilled with the most punctilious exactitude†; private persons defend their property; even

* Therefore the empress says in her Instruction, sect. lix.

“Laws are ordinances of the legislator. But customs and usages are traditions of the whole nation.”

† It must however be remarked, that this is particularly applicable to the late empress. In the reign of Elizabeth, they were sometimes broken; probably without her knowledge. Thus, for example, a man had to-day a grant of an estate belonging to the crown, for 12 years, by way of lease; but it would be taken from him in one year afterwards, without compensation, and given away to another. But at present such things are unheard of. Even when a person has the grant of an estate in fee, if there be a lease upon it, the

even against claims on the part of the crown, in course of law according to the statutes * ; when a man has suffered a supposed injury, he may make a representation and expect relief †, &c.

In all countries, with the best constitution, an abuse of power will sometimes happen, when the ruler, or a violent minister, or a selfish and rapacious governor, or a venal judge, invades the rights of a province, of a town, of a particular class of people, or of private persons. The same may have formerly happened likewise in

the terms of it are faithfully observed ; on the other hand, of all contractors the exact fulfilment of their covenant is required, even when they can prove that they suffer damage by it ; it being reasonably supposed, that the contractor, when he made the contract, had duly weighed the advantages and the disadvantages : from the former he gives nothing back, therefore it is but equitable that he should bear the latter.

* When a nobleman, whose estate borders on one belonging to the crown, has a dispute concerning the bounds, it is decided by the ordinary judges, according to the laws in being. The crown has never required a partial respect, and it has no preference in legal decisions : it might happen formerly that a governor or a judge had hopes of getting a reward for such obliquity ; but it never happens now.

† Instances are not wanting of ample compensation being made by the successor for acts of injustice committed in the former reign.

Russia.

Russia *. But thence to draw a general or unfavourable conclusion, would be to judge very inconsiderately : according to law, or properly according to the constitution, such disorders, and especially acts of violence, cannot happen.

In many countries the people have received their privileges by charter from their princes †. So in Russia are several instances of a like nature. In regard to the unlimited power of the sovereign, which always descends entire to the successor, the lasting validity of them seems to require some notice. When the sovereign grants a charter, it should appear as if the successor was limited by it ; and in general that privileges conferred on the subjects were not perfectly compatible with unlimited power. But, by this mode of inference no sovereign state could enter into treaties of peace or of commerce with others ; as in them likewise the successor is bound to

* During the reign of the empress Elizabeth, people, without being brought to a hearing, were sent off, and disappeared. It is thought that in every year of her reign a thousand persons were the sad victims of this practice. She reigned 20 years.

† Whether they be granted freely and by peculiar agreement, or extorted from the prince, makes not much difference, at least in their consequences.

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fulfil the conditions *. Herein, however, the greatness of the sovereign is displayed in its full splendor, inasmuch as he can grant privileges of permanent validity; he would himself limit his power, were he to declare those granted by his predecessors null and void; at the same time by so doing, he would destroy all security, the main pillar of the government. For this important reason the sovereigns of Russia have preserved their unlimited power unimpaired, while they maintained and occasionally enlarged not only the written privileges, but also those resting on ancient usage and tacit approbation alone. In proof of this, we may bring the Kozaks, the Bashkirs, &c. respecting their exclusive right of property in the countries they inhabited; the provinces of Livonia and Esthonia, which, since they fell to Russia, in lieu of furnishing recruit, pay a certain fine; the whole body of nobility, whose ancient rights have of late received a considerable augmentation; the proprietors of mines, to whom Peter I. in their charter granted a complete allodial right, with the special assurance that it should be held sacred by all his successors in the empire, which the late empress has farther

* That he sometimes finds a pretext for departing from an alliance concluded in the former reign, we are taught by history both ancient and modern.

increased by remitting the imperial dues; with many more instances of a similar kind. — An imperial law in the general regulation proceeding from that emperor, for that reason makes it the duty of every tribunal and college, in framing their judgments, always to have regard to existing privileges, and to decide accordingly: and this happens perpetually; the senate has frequently interposed, when patentees have been willing to waive their privilege, by plainly declaring its disapprobation of such a proceeding, and insisting on its being maintained*. But how, if reasons of state, and the welfare of the empire†, demand an alteration or a total abrogation of the privilege? Indeed it appears that no sovereign could take that upon him without

*. Even slight disadvantages have been disregarded when justified by a privilege. Thus, in one of the provinces of the Baltic, a printing-office had a patent for the sale of certain church and school books. Though they were printed and disposed of by thousands, yet the patentee greatly enhanced their price. A bookseller got permission of him to print them, for the benefit of the poor boors, cheaper by about one half. But the senate would not allow of it, protected the printing-office in the exercise of its privilege; and declared that, in virtue of it, the office had a right to sell its books at a dearer rate, than another might engage to do.

†. Justly considered as the paramount law.

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the consent or a sufficient indemnification of the privileged party, who ought to enjoy at least the right of a contractor. Privileges, however, are not to be considered merely as contracts, but as laws, the place of which they undoubtedly supply. These, when they degenerate and become hurtful, require a remedy, that, like pernicious abuses, they may not be perpetuated. The sovereign may find himself obliged to retrench or entirely to abolish a privilege granted by himself or his predecessors, on its appearing to be hurtful. This may be illustrated by some instances. The patriarchal dignity was for a long period of time interwoven with the political and ecclesiastical constitution of the empire; it had been sanctioned and confirmed by several monarchs, and may therefore be considered as a privilege granted to the nation, and especially to the clergy: but, on its becoming dangerous and pernicious, it was abolished by Peter the great. — The Ukraine had a privilege, in virtue whereof they chose their own hetman. Hence frequently arose dissensions, rebellion, and intestine war. The monarch of Russia saw himself necessitated to interpose in the election, and thus to set bounds to that privileged liberty. But, the hetman, as chieftain of a rude and turbulent people, joining sometimes with the enemies of

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the empire, and thus growing dangerous to it, it was found necessary to prevent the election entirely, and to leave the place for a length of time unoccupied; till at last, from the several complaints that were made against their former hetman, and for other weighty reasons, the empress Catharine II. abolished it quite. — So likewise the Zaporogians had a stated privilege of right over their territory and constitution, arising from antient custom and tacit convention: in which, as long as it was possible, they were protected. Their licentious manners and turbulent spirit loudly called for restraint. They exclaimed against this salutary measure as an act of violence, and proceeded from one degree of insolence to another: till at length no other alternative was left for the safety of the empire than to abolish their constitution, together with their pretended privilege. — On the whole it is plain that the russian sovereigns have proceeded with great caution in the alterations, that have been found necessary, not only in privileges, but even in usurpations and prescriptive usages, when they have had but the least semblance of justice on their side*; always exposing their motives, and

* For instance in Livonia and Esthonia; when, for reasons of state, the exportation of corn has been prohibited
for

and even referring the choice between the adoption of a new or the adhering to an old regulation, to the parties concerned *. If the sovereign were obliged to leave all things to proceed upon the old system, he would not be able to effect any good ; but the alteration of a privilege is frequently a real benefit, as, among other examples, the following will shew. According to the privilege granted to the miners by Peter the great, the private owners were obliged, as has been already mentioned, to pay certain tributes or tithes to the crown : but the late empress has

for a time, as was done in the seven years war by the empress Elizabeth. The same may be said likewise of new imposts : for, in the two dukedoms abovementioned, when the haaks of land at the beginning of the present century were worth no more than from 500 to 1000 rubles, the taxes could not be so great as at present when the value is risen to between 3000 and 5000 rubles, and at times still higher. Livonians and Esthonians, when the conversation in companies at Petersburg has turned upon the produce of estates, and rich Russians have talked of 4 or 5 per cent., have bragged of gaining 11 per cent. by theirs : which they may do — by methods at which humanity shudders.

* At the abolition of the Zaporogians it was left to their choice whether they would adopt a regular mode of life, or leave the empire. — The new political regulation was not forced upon the cities of Riga and Reval : it was left to the choice of the burghers ; they found it more beneficial.

relinquished these claims; and instead of that burden has granted them an encouragement. This was an alteration of the greatest advantage. — The kozaks of Little Russia were obliged by their privileged constitution, not only to furnish troops, but to maintain them at their own expence, by arbitrary and heavy contributions, partially levied by their chiefs. This was altered by her late majesty: the stated number of troops now receive their regular maintenance from the crown, agreeably to the army establishment; and those who stay at home pay, to their great advantage, a very moderate annual rate. — The entails on estates in Livonia and Esthonia were found to give rise to many grievances; they were accordingly cut off, to the great joy of both dukedoms, by the late empress, though they were founded on privileges. — In like manner the new mode of governing by viceroys the provinces is a real benefit, even to those that were most proud of their chartered rights*.

* To omit for the present a great many very important advantages, we shall here only mention, that formerly in Livonia and Esthonia several civil offices must be executed gratis. Now every officer has his regular salary; and many places furnish a decent income to persons who were a charge upon the public. Therefore these, as well as other provinces, thanked the empress for giving them the new institution by deputies,

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This naturally leads us to a subject which has never yet been unfolded in any satisfactory manner by the authors that have written on Russia, namely, the fundamental laws of the empire. Some writers have, indeed, affirmed that such laws do exist, while others will not allow it, or at least express their doubts upon the matter; probably because they either have not duly considered the nature of political constitutions in general, or not properly examined into that of Russia *. Certainly, if we were to ask the Russians, especially the great multitude, concerning them, we should soon have reason to doubt of their existence, as it is not customary to make them the subject of conversation †;

* If they had considered that in the whole world there is no such thing as a pure despotism, they would at least have been led to suppose that there must be fundamental laws in Russia, even though they were not to be pointed out, and still less in writing, but were only traditional. — They seem to have been led by an imaginary notion of fundamental laws that will by no means suit with Russia.

† Nor is this at all surprising: in many other countries, where the subjects have not the same opportunities of discoursing on the laws and state affairs as we have in England, you will scarcely find even a literary man who can give you a good account of the laws, under the protection of which he lives; this knowledge is generally confined to the public functionaries.

though we frequently hear of laws of the empire and imperial laws *, which, however, in some cases, may be regarded as component parts of them †. What then are we to understand

* These two expressions are often used as synonymous, yet they seem sometimes to admit of a distinction. Perhaps we might say that every ukase coming from the throne, unless it relate entirely to a private concern, is a law of the empire: but when it delivers a general rule (though only for some particular class, &c.) it is then to be ranked among the imperial laws, which are sometimes called imperial regulations, and from their collective contents, the imperial constitution. To this consequently belong even particular ukases, as there is not yet any complete code, though there are already many collections of laws. — The patent granted by her majesty some years since to the nobility, which they received with gratitude as a beneficial privilege, is an imperial law. It ascertains the pretensions of the nobility, as the golden bull in Germany, and the magna charta in England, ascertain certain rights and immunities. The two latter are fundamental laws of the countries to which they relate; why then should not the first-mentioned bear the same title, or be regarded as a component part of the fundamental law, that ascertains the pretensions of the people? At least it has an important influence in the constitution; and to the nobility, is in the place of a fundamental law. — In some respects the same may be said of the new political regulation of the governments as a privilege.

† We learn from history, that the teutonic nations, almost to the time of Charlemagne, had no other laws than
old

stand by fundamental laws? In many countries they are merely traditionary, and it would be requiring too much to expect that they should be always written in formal characters and solemnly promulgated*. Neither are we to forget

old established maxims derived from father to son. No man will affirm that their constitutions were destitute of fundamental laws; for certainly to them belonged the democratic form of government, the limited power of their kings, the allodial freedom, and the great right of holding lands in fee-simple, &c. When these nations began to commit their traditional maxims to writing, then arose, among the Franks, for example, the *salique law*, and others, as acknowledged fundamental laws. The *burgundian*, *saxon*, and other laws, had exactly the same origin. But they were in being and valid long before they were reduced to writing.

* See Schlotzer's historical inquiry, and Putter's *disp. de legum imperii fundamentalium et civilium differentia*, which authors make contents and form absolutely necessary to fundamental laws; and the latter says expressly that the people must make them, or concur in making them, or at least voluntarily approve of them. Now, this requires a few words of remark. The solemn form and written text is to be found only in some countries: but neither of them are necessary properties, if traditionary maxims with many nations have long supplied and still supply the place of fundamental laws. Just as little is it absolutely necessary that the people should make or concur in making them: for Minos, Solon, Lycurgus, and other famous legislators, framed not only civil but fundamental laws, which the people merely admitted; for consent may be either verbal or tacit.

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that in many countries they do not at all extend to each particular province, but that these may sometimes have a sort of constitution of their own. — In Russia they can shew fundamental laws reduced to writing; but whether all be so or not requires a short review of former transactions. It would be a difficult undertaking to ascertain their origin throughout in succession of time, but two of them at least must be of equal date with the body politic. For, though the Russian history, as far as it is at present known, says nothing of any antient compact, either oral or written, between the sovereign and the people, yet no man will easily be persuaded, that the independent and free Russian tribes, when they chose foreign princes, as they did Rurik and his brethren, to be their rulers, submitted themselves unconditionally, without any reservation of life and property, to their arbitrary will; as may likewise be said of the period, when, after the extinction of Rurik's race, the crown was conveyed to the elder Godunof*, and lastly

* I say nothing here of Zuiskoy, as on his accession to the throne some of the most eminent of the boyars, as has been already mentioned, proposed to his option some articles, by which they abrogated the old fundamental laws which defined the grand prerogatives of majesty, and in their stead proposed new ones with limitations: which innovation the people soon found to be prejudicial and entirely rejected.

to the house of Romanof: nor can it any more be conceived, that these princes would have taken upon them the burden of government, without knowing the nature and extent of the prerogatives annexed to it. Let us allow that at first no formal instrument was drawn up in writing for settling the mutual claims of sovereign and subject, yet the then commonly received notions of the rights of each might serve as the ground-work of a constitution, and give us some insight into that form of government which was built upon antient usage. . . . Thus we should at least admit two primitive fundamental laws, the one establishing the claims of the sovereign, the other those of the people. In process of time it is possible they might receive an addition by privileges, investitures, casualties, &c. or in various ways, by encroachments, posture of affairs, agreement, &c. might suffer diminution*, of which history affords many examples. Such alterations or enlargements, as soon as their

* Left the reader should at first be surpris'd at this, he must be reminded that in England the magna charta, and in the german empire the golden bull were recognized fundamental laws, not original and primitive laws: They contain, as privileges, claims, whereby on one hand they enlarge, and on the other contract the old ones. — It makes no difference in the use of them whether they proceed from the sovereign alone, or from the co-operation of the people, or solely from the latter.

validity,

validity was recognized, became fundamental laws *, whereof some were consequently of ancient and others of much later origin †; and thus some of the russian would accord with those of other countries, while others, by reason of their peculiar constitution, might remarkably differ from them. — To the most modern principally belong the ordinances for the administration of the governments, as also the letters of grace directed to the nobles and to the towns; which have given a new and exceedingly important constitution to the whole empire, as well as to some of its distinguished members or classes ‡. — All the present fundamental laws

* At least an accurate statement of those already in being, whereby they received a new form, or were increased in number.

† If we admit the before-mentioned ordinance of Peter I. concerning the power of appointing a successor, to be a fundamental law, we thereby allow it to be a new one.

‡ There surely needs no proof that these three grants or privileges are a part of the fundamental laws of the empire: it may suffice, that they have all the requisites prescribed by M. Schlotzer, being, 1. drawn up in writing; 2. in solemn form; 3. of extremely important contents, as has already been shewn in regard to the nobles, and in regard to the constitution of the governments will be seen in a future part. Add to this, 4. that they were thankfully accepted and ratified by solemn deputations, which is of greater validity than the simple consent or co-operation of the people.

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of the empire may properly be reduced therefore to two principal classes, as they ascertain either the authority and prerogatives of the sovereign, or the claims of the subjects *. A subdivision into positive and negative would be superfluous, because what we should allow to the monarch as positive would belong to the negatives of the people. But an accurate statement of what re-

* Hence it is manifest that the idea of M. Schlœtzer, in his historical inquiry, is by no means satisfactory, that there are but two fundamental laws of the empire, both relating merely to the prerogatives of the sovereign, namely, 1. his unlimited authority, and 2. the hereditary right of his posterity to the Russian throne. He adopts them both from the charter of settlement which was drawn up and subscribed by all the ranks on the extinction of the race of Rurik, on the 14th of April, 1613, at the election of Michaila Romanof: to which, however, he adds the presumption, that the framer of that charter of settlement actually represented the whole nation. But this presumption is needless, as that charter, by recognizing an unlimited authority and hereditary succession, brought no new prerogative into action, but only acknowledged both as an usage handed down from times immemorial, and generally acknowledged as salutary, (if indeed records of remote antiquity on that matter were not already in being,) repeated for the purpose of utterly annihilating the attempted limitation at the election of czar Zuisłoy. — In favour of the claims of the people, M. Schlœtzer finds nothing like a fundamental law of the empire,

lates to all the subjects in general, or to certain ranks in particular, might tend to illustrate many things; yet, without running into prolixity, it would be difficult to know always where to draw the line: besides, neither the limits nor the plan of this undertaking would allow of inserting abstracts of privileges, grants, edicts, patents, &c. The proof that there are fundamental laws of the empire in Russia, with a reference to them, will furnish the reader with sufficient occasion for his own farther reflections*. — Such are the following:

I. In regard to the sovereign:

1. The hereditary succession†: 1. That the throne is heritable in both sexes, were nothing reduced to writing on this head, either in the charter of settlement of the year 1613, or in any more antient record, yet this prerogative is one of the usages handed down from their ancestors, and recognized as valid by the people, which as a tradition admitted by the whole na-

* It is not my design to exhaust the subject by producing all the fundamental laws of the empire that are in being. Neither will it merit any very high degree of animadversion if some should here be reckoned among them on which others might perhaps refuse to bestow that title.

† That even Schlœtzer acknowledges it to be a fundamental law has been mentioned just above.

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tion *, in the present case; has the force of a fundamental law of the empire. 2. The right to appoint the successor, of which a sufficient elucidation has been given before †.

2. The uncircumscribed authority ‡ which comprehends all the great and exclusive prerogatives of majesty, some of which have been already specified, e. g. the sole legislation, even in ecclesiastical matters, together with the office of chief magistrate, the full power to make war and peace, to ascertain regalties, &c. To this may be added, that the sovereign has the right to employ the revenues of the empire according as he thinks fit; to enforce all his resolute commands with his military; to constitute imperial colleges, or to alter them again; to appropriate to himself all lands and grounds which have no

* Which never thought of calling this right of succession into question. — Indeed Schlœtzer is of opinion, in his historical inquiry, that the frequent repetition of an act does not beget a law; but usage supplying the place of law may arise from it.

† It is not necessary to derive it from a later ordinance, and to call it, with Busching, a fundamental law. But it follows from two acknowledged fundamental laws which ascribe the hereditary succession and the unlimited authority to the sovereign.

‡ This likewise Schlœtzer declares to be a fundamental law of the empire.

deter-

determinate owner, and to dispose of them as he pleases; to appoint, institute, and employ certain free people immediately belonging to the crown, where he shall think proper, if no particular privileges, immunities, &c. expressly declare otherwise; to change the residence; to share the government with another *, or to lay it down †; to travel out of the empire, and to appoint at will a regency for the interim, &c.

3. That the sovereign is an imperial majesty, and the dominion an empire. The solemn offer of this title by the aristocracy in the name of the whole empire, the acceptance of it in behalf of all the succession, are reasons for deeming this a fundamental law of the empire.

The question, whether the rights of the sovereign include a partition of the empire, by means whereof he may, for instance, if he have several heirs, assign to each of them his separate portion, with all the regalties, may be considered in two points of view. His unlimited authority seems to decide for the affirmative, especially as partitions have been made in antient times. On

* The Russian history affords examples of this, to which never any thing was objected.

† Whether in such a case he could appropriate and preserve any particular prerogatives, and of what kind, would indeed be a problem in the civil law of Russia.

the

the other side there appear to be weighty reasons against such a scissure, at least to dissuade from it, as, among others: because the former partitions brought on a weakness and a sensible decline of the empire *; because, from the time of tzar Ivan Vassillievitch it has remained undivided; because, as an hereditary empire, it gives the next successor authentic claim to an unbroken sovereignty; because there is only one russian empire; because the very title of a self or sole ruler of all Russia, or of all the Russias, precludes every dismemberment. To this may be added, that, by Tatishchtschef's account, tzar Ivan the great, after he had thrown off the tartarian yoke, and restored the monarchy, established the indivisibility of the empire by a law which he caused to be confirmed by a diet convened by him for that purpose. — The matter assumes another shape by important conquests, which seem to form an exception, because then the arguments adduced neither oppose it nor have place †. — In like manner the sovereign has

* It should not, however, be forgotten, that at that time it was not by far of so vast extent as at present.

† In such a case it could not properly be called a partition or dismemberment. This could have happened, for example, if Holstein had not been given up; a grand-ducal prince might have received it as a separate dukedom, for it

has undoubtedly a right to assign to his heirs certain apanages within the empire though without regalties.

In all countries the ruler takes the throne under certain obligations ; but not everywhere can a code be referred to on that subject, which, in all probability, is the case in Russia.

2. In regard to the subjects there are specific obligations and rights. The former arise either from the abstract idea of subjects and from the nature and end of government ; they are, therefore, alike in all countries, such as respect towards the majesty, fealty and obedience, service, payment of legal taxes, &c. — or they proceed from the fundamental laws which ascertain the prerogatives of the crown.

The rights of the subjects are grounded either on the idea of subjects, or on the end and aim of a constitution, or on old derived customs, or on written fundamental laws, or privileges that stand in place of law, and the like. They concern either the empire at large, or particular tribes, ranks, and classes ; and in such regards they include, security of person, of reputation,

did not belong to the empire. The same holds good, likewise, of a conquered province, it can be restored or erected into a separate state.

and

and of property; justice not denied; legal protection against violence and oppression; unmolested enjoyment of all lawfully obtained immunities, privileges, and rights; the right, on the extinction of the reigning family, if no successor be appointed, to elect one, &c. — Accordingly, the nobility may justly demand the quiet enjoyment of all the privileges and immunities granted them by letters of grace*. — The burghers may appeal to the privileges granted to them in the regulations for townships. — The Don-kozaks, and other nations of that kind, may justly expect that no invasion be made on their districts and possessions, or any infringement of their rights, &c.

It having been before mentioned that it might be shewn from some examples borrowed from

* Among them may in some measure be reckoned not only some laws in the Uloshenie, and several single ukases, e. g. concerning the right to possess estates and vassals, particularly the letter of grace dispensed by the late empress to the nobility in the year 1785; likewise one somewhat prior, that of the 18th of February 1762, by which the emperor Peter III. absolves the nobility from the obligation, formerly indispensable, to enter into the military or civil service, even against their will. As the rights in the last-mentioned letter of grace are expressly called in it a fundamental law of the empire unalterable for ever, then other the like letters of grace and privileges may properly be called fundamental laws of the empire.

other countries, that fundamental laws are susceptible of a gradual enlargement or limitation, it would be needless to start the question, whether they ought in general to be regarded as eternal and unalterable? They have, perhaps, never been so in any known country; a thousand accidents, favour, war, revolution, intellectual improvement, stupidity, and human depravity, the veriest trifles in nature may effect an alteration *.

In conclusion to this head it will be proper, for obtaining a more complete knowledge of the constitution, to take a retrospect view of some of the subjects that have been chiefly noticed, and may seem to require a more particular account.

The legislative authority is the monarch alone; neither the whole nation as a body, nor single members or classes of it, can claim any part therein. Indeed the late empress summoned a number of persons, from the several provinces and orders of people, as commissioners for framing a code of laws; but not as though this ought to have been done by the constitution of the empire, but because she designed to give her subjects a complete law-book, so composed as to

* Accordingly we are not to imagine that the welfare of the state entirely depends on these fundamental laws.

fruit all the provinces and the several orders of people according to their peculiar situation, and to procure the utmost possible perfection, as well as the best introduction to the precepts it should contain. — Whenever the senate, a college, the magistracy of a province, or a governor, issue any ordinances or precepts, they must be conformable to the laws in being, and grounded upon them by name; after which it is reserved to the sovereign to examine and to alter them at will. — The executive authority is indeed committed to the regular courts, but always under the chief-inspection of the monarch, in whose name they act, because, as he is the sole legislator, he is also the sovereign judge. Besides, the empress, not only in her Instruction for the law-commission, sect. 127, lays it down as a rule that “some judges shall be of the same rank with the culprit, that is, his equals,” but reduced to practice that beneficial principle, as far as was possible in the present state of things, in her ordinances for the administration of the governments. — All commands, ordinances, sentences, and juridical matters are, as was said before, issued in the name or by the command of the imperial majesty, which formerly was done on the bare authority of the imperial colleges, &c. but never by the middle or inferior courts.

Consequently, there are now none but pure imperial commands; and the only difference is in the source by which they are published. One published by the senate, or any other high imperial college, is likewise called an *ukase*; but when it proceeds directly from the majesty, it is an *imennoi ukase*, or a namely-command, that is signed by the monarch's own hand with his name,

The sovereign is also the sole dispenser of all ranks and dignities*; to the higher he himself appoints the persons, and signs with his own hand the instrument or patent. Among these are, of the clergy, the prelates (*archihierèys*), namely, metropolitans, archbishops, and bishops; of the military, all generals of the army to the colonels of regiments, and of the fleet, the admirals to the captains of ships; in the civil department, the senators, general-governors, governors, presidents of the superior colleges, &c. The inferior degrees are bestowed in his name by the proper commissioners or boards, e. g. in the civil department by the senate, in the military by the college of war, in the navy by the admiralty, in the church by the synod, in the medical department by the college of

* Therefore every promotion conferred by a college is regarded as coming from the empress herself.

medicine,

medicine, &c. - Other posts, as in the provincial governments, are in the appointment of the general-governor of each, &c. All these likewise deliver the letters of induction with their own signatures; only the patents of staff-officers, &c. must be signed by the monarch. To all these posts *, moreover, a definite rank is annexed, uniformly according to the military standard, a circumstance almost peculiar to Russia †. It is to be observed, that in the civil department some places are of a twofold species, that is, either titular or actual, for instance, titular privy-counsellor or actual privy-counsellor ‡, and the like. But actual service is not always connected with either §.

Formerly

* Even the empty titles which are given as a reward for good behaviour or faithful service.

† Peter I. who assigned to every post its stated rank, took the standard from the army probably in the sole design of shewing his people how important it was in his eyes, and at the same time to point out the path to honour. — To many of the offices at court he affixed a very moderate rank; but they were raised by his next female successors.

‡ In Livonia and Esthonia the half-french and half-german expression *etatfrath* is common, which sounds the more singular as it is heard neither in Germany nor in Russia: the german word *stat* has been naturalized in the russian language.

§ It is not however hence to be inferred as if titles were sold, or distributed in lieu of pay: such a traffic is unknown

Formerly there were several monopolies of the crown *, but the late empress, to the manifest advantage of her subjects, abolished the greater part of them, reserving only two, namely, salt and brandy †. The former, as a necessary of life, is cheaper in Russia than in some other countries, and is every where sold at the same price ‡; wherefore the crown, considering the

in Russia; neither patents of nobility, nor commissions for officers, &c. are to be had for money. But numbers of *raïbs*, *staatfräïbs*, and the like, obtain the title of *actual*, merely because a higher rank is annexed to it. Thus every livonian and esthonian *landrath*, the old equestrian *landstaät*, or magistracy of the knights-templars, being abolished as unnecessary, obtains the title of an *actual staatfräïb*, without being thereby invested with any office. — As in like manner in Germany many titles are dispensed to noblemen, professors, physicians, &c.

* Namely, rhubarb, potashes, tobacco, tar, train-oil, caviar, china ware, and formerly likewise yufts, &c.

† Some writers speak of four reserved monopolies, adding to the two abovementioned, saltpetre and gunpowder. But seemingly without reason; for both these articles, in consideration of a slight duty, may by any one be exported or imported, and sold in the shops to any purchaser. Besides, in many parts they make their own gunpowder, and there are private manufactories of saltpetre for public sale.

‡ At 35 kopecks the pood. Except those provinces of the Baltic and White-Russia who have permission to bring salt from abroad.

expençe

expenſe attending it*, gains but little on that article. Brandy, being not ſo neceſſary, is far dearer †, of which more will be ſaid hereafter.

In regard to landed property in general, the following may ſuffice. It belongs either to the crown, or to private owners, and that again either to individuals, or in common to a whole tribe: but this requires a farther ſtatement. In Great Ruſſia, at preſent the landed property is either in the crown, or in the nobility, or in the townſhips, or in the *odnodvortſi*: but to the firſt-mentioned all that to which no private perſon can produce a valid title ‡. — In Little-Ruſſia

* Salt-pans are attended with great expence; which is not the caſe with rock ſalt or at the ſalt-lakes, becauſe there nothing more is neceſſary than to cut the ſalt, or ſhovel it directly into the ſcales; but the long tranſport by land and water ſubjects the crown to conſiderable expences.

† People, therefore, who, from their climate or their employments, &c. would be inclined, to indulge in ſtrong drinks, are obliged to content themſelves with much cheaper and more wholeſome liquors, as beer, quas, mead, berry-wine, kumiſ, &c. which they prepare themſelves. With all this, however, a prodigious quantity of brandy is conſumed.

‡ Accordingly the crown has at times appropriated to itſelf thoſe parcels of land about which contending parties could not be brought to agreement by a proper ſurveyor, and cauſed them to be marked out by black poſts.

the landed property belongs either to the crown, or to the nobles settled there, or to the townships, or to the Kozaks. The last considered themselves formerly as the sole legal possessors. To the crown belong all these estates which formerly were allotted to the hetman and the chiefs of the people, in lieu of stipends; as likewise what has since come to it by purchase. The nobility of Great-Russia have bought estates there*, and received many others as presents from the crown. — In the country of the Don-kozaks, though they are originally brethren of the Russians of Great and Little-Russia, all belongs to the nation of the Kozaks: neither the crown nor any nobleman can appropriate to themselves any thing there†. Many of the steppes are not allotted as property to any stanitza

* While the Ukraine was under the polish dominion, the polish nobility acquired estates there either by purchase, or perhaps also by seizure and usurpation, at which the Kozaks at that time loudly complained, and frequently rising up in arms drove them out. But on the subjection of the country to Russia, it was expressly stated at the confirmation of the privileges, that the russian nobility may possess landed estates there.

† That the crown may cut canals there in cases of necessity against an enemy, and construct places of defence, is naturally to be understood, it being for the benefit of the country at large.

(village)

(village) or private person : yet the crown has never appropriated to itself any part of them ; but each Kozak occupies as much as he chooses, and then leaves it again to lie waste. — The case is much the same with the Ural-kozaks ; but there the crown has always exercised the right of constructing forts at pleasure, and to keep garrisons in them, to the uses whereof however certain pieces of ground that lie contiguous are allotted. So probably it might appropriate and let out the very productive fishery on the river Ural : at least persons well versed in these matters affirm that this right is inherent in it ; though the Kozaks would look with an evil eye at such a step. — It is otherwise in the country of the Baschkirs, towards the mountain Uraltau, or the Ural in its strictest sense. The crown is there the proprietor of large mine-works and extensive tracts of forest * ; but all the rest of the land the Baschkirs have always appropriated to themselves as their exclusive heritage ; yet in such manner, as not appertaining to the whole nation ; but that each main-stem, and each race of them, is

* Perhaps by voluntary cession, or simply as royalties from the time of the conquest of the country. — It is affirmed by some that almost all the land in Siberia belongs to the crown ; which we must leave undecided, but it seems highly improbable.

always

always the complete exclusive owner of one district. Accordingly, if they sell a piece of forest to a mine-master, their custom is to reserve to themselves, as a testimony of their manorial right, the game, the wild-growing hops, and the bee-hives therein. They likewise adopt colonists among them *, to whom they readily give a right to build houses and to occupy pieces of land at will, for which they take a trifling rent. The like method is pursued by the Mestfcherækes and Tartars, who freely let out to any menial servants who come and settle among them, wood, pasture, and arable land, as much as they have occasion for, at a yearly ground-rent of 25 kopeeks †. Only they will not that russian villages should be arbitrarily constructed among or near them ‡; probably not alone on account of their freehold-right, but likewise for fear of a gradual restriction, and what may easily follow, a total ejection §.

Another

* That is, of their own accord, at the request of the colonists; they are not obliged to it.

† Pallas's travels, vol. ii. p. 51, also p. 30 & sq.

‡ Id. ib. p. 33.

§ In some of the former reigns the question has been agitated at the court of St. Petersburg, whether lands should be allotted to the russian nobility among people asserting the

same

Another of the prerogatives that adhere to the throne is, that the sovereign can appoint a regency during the minority of his successor, and fix the period of his arriving at majority. But if he neglect to do so during his lifetime, then the question arises, who shall provide for the guardianship and education of the successor during his minority, and declare the time of his being of age? As there is no express law on this head, nobody is at present uncontrovertibly thus qualified, and the question cannot be answered. It seems most natural that the next relation, without regard to sex, should undertake that matter as is done in other monarchies*; but, to pass over many other difficulties that might hence arise, or for want of legal authority, it is even possible that there may be no such relation of

same right of property. Sagacious ministers have always been against it: partly because the nobility, soon increasing their numbers, might attempt to put restraints on the liberty of the inhabitants; partly because such proceedings might excite great discontents, sad murmurs, and other ill consequences, especially as such nations are extremely jealous of their rights, real or imaginary, as experience has often shewn.

* An instance of this was seen in France during the minority of Louis XV.

age.

age*. Then it seems to fall either to the council, or to the directing senate, or to the high imperial colleges collectively†; but to all these a legal authority is wanting‡. Besides, the council is only the privy-council of the sovereign; the senate has a co-ordinate college, namely, the synod; the rest of the imperial colleges are subordinate to the senate, and cannot exercise an equal authority with it. Were there any estates of the country having voices, or invested with authority, they would shew their influence herein: but the russian form of government knows nothing of such. — Perhaps it might have been the intention of Catharine II. that the new code of laws should have provided for meeting such difficulties, by determining what persons in the said cases should be the substitutes or

* Or if even there were several such relations making equal claim, who should decide between them?

† Particular families, however great their consideration, could not pretend to any right, as in Russia there is only one nobility, of which every family may rise by merit and good fortune: properly none have a precedence before others.

‡ It was for this reason that the empress Anna left a testamentary direction who should conduct the government and have the care of educating the infant successor.

represent-

representatives of the nation *. With regard to the power of doing this, it is generally allowed that the legislative authority is competent to it; it follows then of consequence, that the monarch who exercises the legislative authority in his dominion, can give fundamental laws.

SECTION IV.

The Form of Government.

WHAT is properly the form of government in Russia, and what the fittest for the empire, may be best ascertained by the person who holds the sovereignty. On this subject the empress Catharine II. gives us the following information †.

“ The sovereign (of the russian empire) is
 “ absolute : for no other than an authority con-
 “ centrated in his person alone can adequately
 “ operate through the extensiveness of so large
 “ an empire.

“ An extensive empire presupposes an un-
 “ limited power in the person who governs it.

* If, indeed, as Mr. Schlœtzer observes, there can be said to be a nation where the government is absolute. Histor. unterfuchung.

† Instruction to the commission for framing a code of laws, chap. ii. sect. 9—16.

The

“ The celerity of decision in matters that are
 “ brought from distant places must compensate
 “ the tardiness that arises from that remoteness.

“ Any other form of government would not
 “ only be prejudicial to Russia, but even at
 “ length be the cause of its total ruin.

“ Another reason is, because it is better to
 “ obey the laws under one ruler, than to con-
 “ form to the will of many.

“ But what is the aim of an absolute govern-
 “ ment? Not to deprive mankind of their natu-
 “ ral liberty, but to direct their actions to the
 “ maintenance of the highest prosperity.

“ Consequently, a form of government which
 “ is more than others constituted to that end,
 “ and at the same time contracts the natural
 “ liberty less than others, is that which best
 “ coincides with the aims attributed to rational
 “ creatures, and is most adapted to the object
 “ they have ever had in view in the institution of
 “ civil societies.

“ The object and end of unlimited govern-
 “ ments is the glory of the citizen, of the state,
 “ and of the sovereign.

“ Among a people who live under a mo-
 “ narchical government, from this glory flows
 “ the spirit of liberty, which in such states bursts
 “ forth

“ forth in such great actions as are able, in the
 “ very same proportion, to promote the happi-
 “ ness of the subjects as liberty itself.”

Accordingly, the form of government is unlimited monarchy. However, the free-born Russian subjects are always treated as such. The empress never shut herself up in her palace like an eastern despot; her subjects might boldly approach her, not in the degrading manner of wretched slaves, but in the consciousness that they were not debarred the rights of man. — It is true, that to present petitions directly to the sovereign is forbidden by repeated ukases, particularly when the proper courts have passed them by. Nevertheless it is done on urgent occasions; and then depositions, petitions, &c. are sent directly by post to the monarch. But in an affair of litigation, if either of the parties would appeal to the empress from the decree of the senate, the petition must be delivered to one of the cabinet-ministers. — In general it is permitted the subjects to utter their complaints and to make a representation of them. Thus, the nobility may send deputies: this the Ukrainians have long been accustomed to do, as also the Livonians and Esthonians: only of late, for the sake of preventing abuses, the form has been prescribed

prescribed in which it is to be done. — When the crown is in want of any thing, for instance, materials for building, the delivery of certain products, it is contracted for by fair and open propofals; and, as in other countries, he who offers to undertake it on the lowest terms is the person employed; and, if required, is paid certain sums in advance, on giving proper security.

SECTION V.

*The Imperial Family, hereditary Succession,
Grand Duke.*

WHILE it was the practice to partition the empire, when the ruler was styled Grand Duke, the princes of his family bore the title of Dukes, and when they possessed distinct dukedoms, were called after them. After that custom had ceased, and all the dukedoms united into one body under one sole head, who was styled Tzar, the appellation Tzarevitch, or son of the tzar, came into use, which in the present century was changed for Tzefarevitch, that is, son of the emperor. The last is still at times made use of in state-papers,

papers *, though it is by no means a general appellation of the imperial family. For the children of it are called, in the present tables of precedence, princes and princesses; which latter title was borne by Anna and Elizabeth before their accession to the throne. It is now almost obsolete, as grand duke, grand duchess, supply its place: and this not only with the proper and nearest successor, but also with his family, all his children bearing the style of grand dukes and grand duchesses; hence it may be inferred, that if he have brothers and sisters the same would be given to them. Probably it may be a relic of days of yore †. — On the birth of prince Ivan,

* While the emperor was styled in russ Tzefar, his son should of course be called Tzefarevitch. But it is somewhat surprising that, after the introduction of the title Imperator, the latter was not rather called Imperatorevitch. It can hardly be accounted for by any particular custom, as even the former expression is foreign to the russian tongue.

† Therefore, a grand duke is called, as formerly, in russ, *velikye knas*, (literally the great prince,) and a grand duchess, *velikaya knaghinya*, the great princess. — French being much spoken at court, the grand duke was, by her majesty's command, the only person in the empire called in that language Monseigneur. — The terms crown-prince, hereditary prince, heir-apparent, &c. are not usual here. Neither has any term been introduced in Russia to denote peculiarly the next in succession. Rodde, indeed, in his russ dictionary

Ivan, who was afterwards declared successor to the throne, the then grand-chancellor count Ostermann proposed that he should be styled Grand Duke. The regent Anna likewise appears in several records under the title of grand duchess; as well as the princess Elizabeth previous to her mounting the throne. The latter, it is well known, when empress, declared her nephew to be her successor, under the title of grand duke. — The expression prince or princess is not however on that account entirely exploded: for though in the imperial ukases, relating to the births of the grand ducal children, they are uniformly called grand dukes and grand duchesses, it is said in the ukase of May 21, 1788, expressly, that her imperial highness the grand duchess was safely delivered of a grand ducal princess, whereupon it is commanded, “that on all occasions where it is necessary to mention the new-born grand ducal princess, she shall be written and denominated her imperial highness.” Whereas the empress says, in her ukase of Dec. 20, 1777, in relation to the

has the word *naslednik*, but so every heir or successor is called; therefore the next heir should be properly styled *naslednik prestola* or *prejemnik prestola*, as the throne is *prestol*.

birth

birth of the eldest of the sons of Paul Petrovitch,
 that, God having blessed " their imperial high-
 " nesses with a first-born son, and us with a
 " grand-son Alexander Pavlovitch — — we
 " ordain, that in all cases and on all occasions,
 " in our empire, that relate to him, the title of
 " his imperial highness the grand duke Alexan-
 " der Pavlovitch shall be given to him." When
 the second young grand duke Constantine Pavlo-
 vitch was born, it was ordered in like manner ;
 and in the ukase bearing date Aug. 6, 1783, the
 empress says: " Her imperial highness the grand
 " duchess was safely delivered on the 29th of
 " July, and has borne us a grand daughter, the
 " grand duchess Alexandra Pavlovna ;" where-
 upon the edict proceeds, " that this new-born
 " grand duchess in all affairs where it is requisite,
 " shall be written and called her imperial
 " highness."

From these several ukases it appears, that the
 next successor, his consort and all their children,
 are styled grand dukes and grand duchesses ; and
 that they all bear the title of imperial highness * ;
 that it is conferred upon them always by a signed

* Highness is in rufs *vuisotschestvo*, derived from *vuisoko*,
 high. Hence it is said, *Tervo imperatorskoye vuisotschestvo*,
 his or her imperial highness.

decree of the monarch *, and that, respecting the grand-daughters, the terms grand duchess and grand ducal princess are sometimes synonymous.

The rights of a grand duke, as heir apparent, have never been accurately defined by any writer. Perhaps it would be no easy matter to ascertain them †. As, in other countries, he is, as it were, the first subject, and is, not only, as every where, under the paternal authority, but likewise in general under the authority of the sovereign, which is of great extent, as is manifest from the history of Peter I. and his eldest son. — Neither has he, any more than in other states, properly any functions arising from his high birth and appointment: they depend on the good pleasure of the sovereign. In the late reign the grand duke, by the will of the empress his mother, was high-admiral and chief of a

* Whether without such an edict the title would still take place, I shall not presume to inquire. In all kingdoms the children of crowned heads are styled highness. In regard to grand-children it is sometimes otherwise.

† An english writer expresses his surprise that the rights, &c. of a grand duke are not expressly ascertained. But it may be asked, are the rights of the next heir exactly defined in all other countries? How did this appear to be the case in England in the year 1788, in the affair of the regency?

regiment

regiment of cuirassiers. The empress Elizabeth conferred on the then grand duke likewise a regiment of cuirassiers and the superintendence of the cadet-corps.

The princes and princesses of the reigning family have no settled apanage or establishment: their household, when they have one apart, depends entirely on the pleasure of the sovereign. — The annual allowance to the grand duke is usually, if I mistake not, 220,000 rubles, and sometimes more, to which also many great presents are added. Estates in land in lieu of revenue have never been (at least in modern times) settled on them; but country-seats frequently. — The grand duke Paul Petrovitch, by his paternal descent from the house of Schlesvig-Holstein, was grand-master of the order of St. Anne.

SECTION VI.

Ensigns armorial, imperial Court, and Orders of chivalry.

THESE subjects may properly be treated of together, as they need no very circumstantial disquisition, and are in some degree related to each other.

The arms in the middle ages were borrowed from Mosco, at that time the imperial residence, consisting of St. George on horseback killing a dragon with a spear. Tzar Ivan Vassillievitch made choice of a black spread eagle *, with a crown on each head, a larger crown between them, in a golden field, and holding in one claw a sceptre, and in the other an imperial mound, with the said arms of Mosco on the breast. Sometimes it is surrounded with a collar composed of the arms of some of the countries belonging to the russian empire; as Astrakhan, Kazan, Siberia, &c.

This is accordingly the imperial seal. When the empress made use of it for letters it had an imperial mantle, and over it an imperial crown †; she sealed her letters sometimes with a hand-seal, the impression of which was a bunch of flowers, with a bee-hive, and in the middle at top a

* Why he chose an eagle is uncertain; perhaps because the neighbouring Poles and the german emperor bore one. — As to the George and dragon, it would not be the worst conjecture that ever was made, that it arose merely from the order of the Garter which was sent to Ivan Vassillievitch by queen Elizabeth.

† To ukases, patents, &c. there never was that addition. The empress Anna used only the arms with her name round it.

bee with the superscription *POLESNOYE*, i. e. useful.

The imperial colleges and some of the higher courts of justice have always borne these arms in their signets, commonly with the express notification, that it is her imperial majesty's seal. Only in the conquered provinces several of the courts of judicature retained the use of their ancient seal. Since the introduction of the governments this custom has almost entirely ceased: every court employing the imperial seal, declaring by letters round it to what court it belongs. Perhaps some of the spiritual courts or consistories, and others, as well as such others as have no appropriate chancery or public seal, are an exception to this.

The court is composed of the great officers of state, of senators, actual privy-counsellors, princes, counts, barons, &c. whose names may be seen in the russian court-kalendar, 1 cup-bearer, 1 master of the horse, 1 high chamberlain, 1 master of the hunt, 1 court-marshal, 1 court-master, 1 master of the stables, 23 actual chamberlains, 19 gentlemen of the bed-chamber, 8 adjutant-generals, (of whom two are general field-m Marshals, 5 generals in chief, and 1 lieutenant-general), 15 ensign adjutants, 1 mistress of
 2 the

the court, 8 state-ladies, 1 lady of the bed-chamber, 6 maids of honour. — Many court-holidays, as well as church-holidays, are kept not only in the residence, but in other towns; such as the birth and name days of the imperial family, the anniversary of the recovery of her majesty from the small-pox, the saints of the several orders, &c. The regiments of the guards have each their anniversary, on which occasion the officers dine at the imperial table *. — The court-etiquette much resembles that in other countries of Europe; not so stiff and formal as at the spanish court, or as formerly at that of Vienna, nothing is required but a polite unconstrained behaviour. — In the amusements at court, balls, masquerades, &c. all who are decently dressed, even every burgher may take part, no question being ever put on entering concerning rank or birth. — On court-days † also
 access

* At some courts to dine with the sovereign implies to dine at the court-marshal's table in the palace; but here the officers sat at the same table with her majesty. Sometimes her seat was raised rather higher than the rest, or was somewhat separated by the figure of the table; for instance, when it was in the shape of a spread eagle the empress sat at the crown between the two heads.

† Sunday was the grand court-day, when the late empress went through the hall of audience to the chapel. Di-
 vine

access is open to every subject, and the style of address is without starchiness on one hand or humiliating expressions on the other, but is suited to the quality of every individual.

Six orders of knighthood form a part of the splendor of the court, having each their insignia, with their chapters and officers. The first three were constituted by Peter I. the two next by the late empress Catharine II. and the sixth proceeds from Schlesvig-Holstein. Of the five former the monarch is always grand-master; but of the sixth, the grand duke*, which he dispenses in virtue of a treaty as duke of Schlesvig-Holstein. To the fourth and fifth, pensions are annexed; though not indiscriminately to every knight, but only to a select number of the eldest, agreeably

vine service being ended, on her coming back into the hall, the foreign ministers first kissed her hand; and foreigners were presented. Then she advanced somewhat farther, where those of her subjects stood waiting to be presented. Next came in succession all the generals and others who had business. This done, her majesty turned off to the chamber of the throne, where the chevalier-guards came to kiss her hand. — Sometimes on these days the concourse of persons about the late empress amounted to an incredible number. Every lady who came to kiss her hand, even of the mercantile class, &c. she always kissed on the cheek in return.

* That is, during the late reign.

to the statutes of the order. — These orders * generally take precedence according to the seniority of their institution: 1. The order of St. Andrew, the chief of them all, commonly called the blue ribband. It was founded in the year 1689, and was afterwards provided with statutes and habit by the empress Anna. 2. The order of St. Catharine; it was instituted in 1714, in honour of the empress Catharine I. and is confined to ladies, who wear a deep red ribband. It is given only to few persons; at present, besides the imperial family, it is worn by no more than 17, among whom are one queen and two electoral princesses. 3. The order of St. Alexander Nevsky was founded in 1725, and is usually called the red ribband. 4. The order of St. George was instituted for military merit in the land or sea service, in the year 1769, and contains four classes; the senior knight in his class receives an annual pension, in the first class of 700 and in the fourth of 100 rubles; the fourth class wears it at the button-hole, the higher classes about the neck and across the shoulders, to a ribband striped with black and yellow: the first

* The account of these orders may be here the more cursory, as farther particulars of them may be seen in the *Life of Catharine II.* vol. ii. p. 413—417.

classes are distributed to but few, and therefore the fourth is dispensed more liberally: in 1788 of the first class were only four, and of the second nine knights. 5. The order of the apostle-like prince Vladimir was founded in the year 1783, for men of desert in the civil or military stations, and has likewise four classes, of which the senior knight receives a pension, in the first class 600, and in the fourth 100 rubles: whoever has served faithfully for 35 years may apply for this order; it is worn to a ribband, red in the middle and on each side a black stripe: the knights of the two first classes, as in the other high orders, wear a star on the breast. 6. The order of St. Anne, of Holstein, is worn with a coquelicoq ribband having white edges, across the shoulders, and a star at the breast. — It is to be observed, that the russian orders are never given to the clergy, though to such prelates as were much esteemed by the late empress she gave sometimes a cross and sometimes her portrait, set with diamonds, to wear about the neck.

The annual expences of the palace were about 1,500,000 rubles. About two hundred tables were spread there twice a day; and the dishes for them reckoned to amount to 2300. Every third day the court-purveyor received the money
for

for making this provision*. A pood of coffee was used there every day; and 8000 poods of salt per month.

* The waste at court was carried to an inexpressible height. The houses or apartments which the empress caused to be fitted up for the persons to whom she gave quarters, contained frequently in furniture more than three times their value. — Twelve hundred candles were every day delivered out to the guard, who never consumed one hundred. — The dinner for the officer on guard cost 70 rubles; that it was worth nothing was not the fault of the empress. Every officer about the palace asked for what he would in glasses, decanters, and things of that nature: nothing ever came back; and this happened every day. — The quantity of china-ware that was broke is incredible. Whoever broke any was obliged to shew the fragments, but the fragments of four or five pieces would very well serve for a dozen, as he was never required to fit them together. — They whose business it was to clean the silver made rapid fortunes. They had a certain substance, which by rubbing brought off much of the metal; the diminution was apparent to every attentive observer. — For the four months which the empress passed at Tzariskoe-Selo, 25 english miles from town, the Neva-water for her own table (as she would take no other) cost her ten thousand rubles annually.

V I E W
OF THE
RUSSIAN EMPIRE.

B O O K VI.

FORCES OF THE RUSSIAN EMPIRE.

SECTION I.

Land Forces.

TO preserve the internal security or quiet of so vast an empire, particularly to prevent disturbances that might arise in the provinces and among the different tribes from misunderstandings, or the artifices of ill-designing persons, demands a considerable body of troops; but a still greater force is necessary to cover the frontiers against foreign enemies, and to be prepared for war from whatever quarter it may arise. Though
the

the russian army be numerous, yet in the opinion of some it might, conformably with the relations of the empire, be still larger. But experience has shewn that it is sufficient; and in cases of emergency the monarch can immediately raise a body of troops, which, if he do not choose to lead them into the field, will serve well enough to maintain the public tranquillity, to garrison the forts on the borders, to repel the incursions of an enemy, to put a stop to his ravages, and to destroy his magazines. I speak of the irregular troops which the monarch can call out at pleasure from those nations who are obliged to perform military service in lieu of the public or usual tribute.

It is well known that the army consists partly of regular infantry and cavalry, and partly of irregular troops. If we imagine that the latter are merely a wretched undisciplined rabble, we shall be in a mistake; for though the Kalmuks, Baschkirs, &c. who form a part of them, are neither very serviceable, nor at all like the common soldiers of Europe, yet they constitute but a small proportion of their number, and are seldom employed against regular troops. But the Kozaks have acquired great military reputation; they fully answer all the purposes of regular
hussars,

hussars *, are also in modern times very well disciplined, so that they could scarcely be reckoned irregulars if they did not retain their old kozak form of government, and at the end of the war always return home to their plough. The Kozaks of Tschuguyef have long served as well as the best hussars; and lately those of the Don, the most numerous, are fully equal to them †. At present, as may be seen by late ukases, the most serviceable Kozaks are divided in to those of Ekatarinoflaf and those of the Euxine; at least they come most into consideration. Prince Potemkin was hetman or commander in chief of both ‡.

Perhaps the regular troops would be augmented were it not for the sake of sparing the people, and of not burdening them with raising

* All the irregular troops are of horse, and serve as cavalry.

† Mr. Coxe seems not to have thoroughly considered the importance of the kozak-service.

‡ Among the Kozaks of Ekatarinoflaf those of the Don are comprehended. Those of the Euxine are originally, likewise, Don-kozaks, but were transplanted into other regions bordering on that sea. — Those Kozaks, who at present do not perform kozak-service, e. gr. the malo-russian and slobode-kozaks, as well as those very remote, such as the siberian, or the Tunguses, who are bound to kozak-service, fall not under this head.

recruits. Accordingly it is usual in war time to enlist free people at no small expence, though the empire is obliged to furnish recruits gratis *. Hence it not unfrequently happens, that to avoid frequent levies the regiments are not complete †. — Besides, it is to be observed, that some districts, in virtue of their privileges and immunities, furnish no recruits at all, as, the provinces of the Baltic ‡; and such nations as, by their

* At slight recruitings, which, even in time of peace, are always ordered at stated periods, every 500 souls (meaning males) must furnish one man. If we deduct children, the aged and infirm, deserters, &c. the recruit falls upon somewhere about 260 able-bodied men. If these procure the recruit's consent to serve by money, to which the poor contribute nothing, it falls pretty heavy on the rest. Sometimes each recruit costs the community 200 or 300 rubles, and even more.

† In times of peace there is a deficiency, perhaps, of one half of the complement. — There was once a report, as if it were intended, by way of sparing the recruits, to raise the pay of the officers by the addition of one tertial, and in consideration of that, to allow them for the future no *dentschiki* (servants taken out of the recruits). By this means the empire would be a great gainer in people; as, from the *dentschiks*, in the land and sea-service, it might raise, perhaps, a body of 30,000 fresh soldiers; but then many an officer, who has no boors of his own, would scarcely get a servant for wages.

‡ Only Ingria must now furnish recruits.

particular

particular constitution, perform military service, as the Don-kozaks. In like manner some of the krasnoyarskian-kozaks gain an exemption for themselves and their posterity forever, by undertaking to guard the frontiers *. — No German throughout the empire †, nor any nobleman who has no estates, nor any man in office, furnishes recruits; but this is not the case with the russian merchants, who, however, pay money in lieu of it, for each recruit 500 rubles; but all boors must serve in person.

Since the late empress abolished the former very insignificant irregular service of the malorussian and slobode Kozaks, and instead thereof raised from them regiments of complete regular cavalry, belonging mostly to the light horse, the army has received a considerable augmentation, to the benefit of the empire.

The notion that Russia, from the great number of its irregular troops, has no need to keep up a strong regular army, with the consequence drawn from it, that in time of peace, for the sake of promoting population, the levies might be discontinued, betrays a want of due consideration of the subject. For, though in the heart

* Pallas, travels, tom. iii. p. 363.

† Whether man of letters, merchant, artist, tradesman, colonist, &c.

of Russia no apprehension need be entertained of an attack from a foreign enemy; and the empire on several sides is sufficiently protected by nature in its immense steppes, its impenetrable forests, and impassable rivers, without frontier-lines and garrisons, or such attempts might be easily frustrated by a small body of irregular forces*; yet it should not be forgotten, that since the military establishment was brought into use by Lewis XIV. great standing-armies must every where be kept on foot in Europe; that wise princes should, even when in the quiet enjoyment of peace, be ever prepared for emergencies; that, as the wars which have broke out in the present century have shewn, the russian army is by no means too numerous; that irregular troops, if not supported by regulars, are not at all times sufficient; that there is a necessity not only for frontier-forts, but at all events for strong places deeper within the country, to which the army may retreat in cases of disaster, or from which it may be commodiously supplied with provision and ammunition†; that stationary regiments

* In cases of necessity, the country-carriers, &c. have been armed as Kozaks, and employed in garrisoning the frontiers, and other service.

† This deserves the consideration of those who deem all fortifications useless; and that security entirely depends on a well-

giments are beneficial to many of the russian provinces, by promoting the sale of the products, and bringing money into circulation *, to all which much more might be added.

As even in publications of no distant date, and in which we might reasonably expect just statements, we constantly see very erroneous accounts of the russian army, it seems a kind of duty to deliver a faithful representation of it from the most authentic documents.

To begin then with the state of the army previous to the breaking out of the last war against the Turks and Swedes; which we shall find in the list sent by the college of war to the several regiments regarding their disposition and distribution †. It contains at once the number of

a well-disciplined and numerous army. Frontier-forts not only secure the provinces, but also keep off the enemy: to neglect having strong places farther in the country, or to let them go to ruin, is like giving up the magazines and arsenals as a prey to every invader.

* Little Russia, abounding in numerous products, wears a flourishing appearance when several regiments are quartered there; which otherwise finds it extremely difficult to obtain a vent for its commodities. When no troops are there the want of money is often very sensibly felt.

† The authenticity of this list is not liable to the slightest doubt, being made out, not for foreigners, but for the army itself, coming from a high imperial college, and discriminating whatever it states by name.

the generals appointed, and the names of all the regiments * ; both should here be noticed, but a short abstract will be quite sufficient. — By that list it appears, that in the year 1786 the generals of the army were as follows : 3 general field-m Marshals; 11 generals in chief; 22 lieutenant-generals, 54 major-generals : to these are added, 1 quarter-master-general, when the post is occupied; 15 generals of artillery, 9 generals of engineers, of both as well general in chief as lieutenant-general and major-general. Besides some generals appointed in the college of war, likewise at the war-commisariat and at the stores. — The brigadiers are not particularly specified, as they act as colonels in their regiments.

The regiments which composed the army at that time, (among which, however, the guards, the artillerists, the garrisons, &c. are not reckoned,) were,

CAVALRY : five regiments of cuirassiers, viz. 1. The life cuirassiers. 2. The grand-duke's. 3. The Georgian. 4. The Kazan. 5. The Ekaterinofslaf, afterwards generally called prince Potemkin's regiment.

Nineteen regiments of carabiniers : 1. The Riazan. 2. The Kief. 3. The Tschernigof. 4.

* The names of the regiments are unchangeable, as they are taken, not from their commanders, but mostly from provinces and towns,

Perieslavl. 5. Tver. 6. Seversk. 7. Nishinsk.
 8. Lubensk. 9. Glukhof. 10. Starodub. 11.
 Sophia. 12. Rostof. 13. Narva. 14. Karga-
 pol. 15. Mosco. 16. Pfcove. 17. Yamburg.
 18. Ingermanland. 19. Riga.

Ten regiments of dragoons, viz. 1. Smolensk.
 2. St. Petersburg. 3. Kinburn. 4. Astrakhan.
 5. Taganrok. 6. Nishney-Novgorod. 7. Vla-
 dimir. 8. Orenburg. 9. Siberia. 10. Irkutsk.

Sixteen regiments of light-horse, viz. 1. Ostro-
 gof. 2. Ukraine. 3. Kharkhof. 4. Sumsk. 5.
 Aktirsk. 6. Isumsk. 7. Voronetch. 8. Pultava.
 9. Pavlogrod. 10. Mariopol. 11. Alexandrof.
 12. Kherfon. 13. Elizabethgorod. 14. Olvio-
 pol. 15. Konstantingorod. 16. Taurida.

To which must be added 17 regiments or up-
 wards of kozaks.

INFANTRY: Ten regiments of grenadiers, viz.
 1. The life-grenadiers. 2. The Mosco. 3. St.
 Petersburg. 4. Siberian. 5. Malo-russian. 6.
 Ekatarinoflaf. 7. Astrakhan. 8. Tauridan. 9.
 Kief. 10. Fanogorsk (of these some were newly
 raised).

Fifty-nine regiments of musqueteers, viz. 1. The
 Pfcove. 2. Riazan. 3. Veliko-luki. 4. Arch-
 angel. 5. Bielozero. 6. Narva. 7. Nessky.
 8. Kekholm. 9. Nascheburg. 10. Novaghinsk.
 11. So-

11. Sophia. 12. Tschernigof. 13. Dniepröf.
 14. Vologda. 15. Uglitz. 16. Ingermanland,
 17. Smolensk. 18. Tula. 19. Rostof. 20.
 Apfcheron. 21. Novgorod. 22. Kherson (of
 four battalions). 23. Caucasus (likewise of four
 battalions). 24. Mosco. 25. Vladimir. 26.
 Kazan. 27. Ladoga. 28. Kabardinsk. 29.
 Tiflinsk. 30. Troitzka. 31. Viætka. 32. Se-
 vastopol. 33. Orlof. 34. Staroskol. 35. Ko-
 slof. 36. Kurfk. 37. Riga. 38. Velenfk. 39.
 Murom. 40. Tambof. 41. Yaroslav. 42.
 Schluffelburg. 43. Siefk. 44. Alexiopol. 45.
 Briansk. 46. Yeletzk. 47. Polotzk. 48. Vo-
 ronetch. 49. Nishney-Novgorod. 50. Nifof.
 51. Azof. 52. Tobolsk. 53. Traghinsk. 54.
 Vyborg. 55. Perme. 56. Sufdal. 57. Reval.
 58. Schirvan. 59. Vitepsk *.

Thirteen Yæger-corps, viz. 1. Finland. Belo-
 russian. 3. Livonian. 4. Bogue. 5. Taurida.
 6. Caucasus. 7. Kuban. 8. The first, 9. The
 second, 10. The third, 11. The fourth, 12.
 The fifth, 13. The sixth, Yæger-battalions.

Ten field-battalions, which were frequently
 called only battalions, viz. 1. The Ekatarinen-
 burg. 2. The Semipalatna new raised battalion,
 3. The first, 4. The second, 5. The third, 6.

* The four last were new raised.

The fourth, 7. The fifth, 8. The sixth, and 9 and 10 the two Tschernomorfski * battalions.

Then lastly, the Orenburg troops and the Siberian troops; the number and divisions whereof are not stated in the list.

The state and strength of the army during the last turkish war appears from the following list, likewise drawn up by the college of war in the year 1791 †. According to which the army at that time, in its proper establishment ‡, contained:

INFANTRY: Ten regiments of grenadiers §, each of 3983 men; 58 regiments of musqueteers ||, 18 each of 2044 men, 38 each of 2373 men; 2 of four battalions, each of 3975 men; 9 battalions of yægers, each of 3900 men; in this number 2 tchernomorfian are comprised, of which the ekatarinoflaf yæger corps is formed; 2 battalions each of 975 men; 12 field-battalions each of 996 men.

* That is, of the Black-sea.

† Communicated by a member of that college.

‡ That is, as it was designed for that war: therefore many troops appear in it which perform no service in time of peace, e. gr. the Baschkirs.

§ In rufs. they are called *grenodër*.

|| The Russians call them *mysketër*.

CAVALRY:

CAVALRY: Three regiments of cuirassiers, viz. the life-regiment of 5285 men *, the grand duke's of 1080 men, and prince Potemkin's regiment of 997 men; 16 regiments of carabineers, each of 1051 men; 10 regiments of dragoons †, each of 1808 men; the Pfcove dragoon regiment of 1889 men, to which belong 5 squadrons of hussars making 840 men ‡; 14 regiments of light-horse, each of 997 men §; 2 regi-

* The whole of this uncommonly large regiment was formed by prince Potemkin out of 3 old cuirassier-regiments, to which he also added 2 regiments of light-horse. The whole regiment, which was divided into three brigades, and 36 (or, as others say, in 32) squadrons, he gave to the command of a general his relation. There was a talk as if it were to be again divided into several small regiments. From the incredibly great advantages which a colonel of horse may annually make, the chief of such a regiment may be very soon rich if he please.

† All the dragoons wear a green uniform faced with red, and large red pantaloons.

‡ It was first a carabineer-regiment, but in 1789 they were turned into dragoons. It consists of 10 dragoon and 5 hussar squadrons. The hussars were partly raised in the last war. — Many of the regiments both of horse and foot were much increased in the number of men by prince Potemkin.

§ Prince Potemkin formed them out of hussar and pique-
neer regiments. It is said that they are reduced to hussars
again.

2 regiments of hussars, each of 997 men *. The Kief horse-yægers, which were drafted from several carabineer-regiments and squadrons, in all 1846 men.

KOZAKS: in the army in all 27,330 men. The companies formed of the inhabitants of the governments of Ekatarinoslaf and Kharkof, under the command of lieutenant-colonel Bufen, 2578 men. Those sent to Caucasus †, Khoper, 764 men, Volga 602 men. Tschernomoriskian true Kozaks ‡, horse 1275 men; foot 2475 men;

again. The Hamburg gazette of 1792 under the head Polish Frontiers, mentions the great alteration taking place in the russian army, by changing all the light-horse into hussars, and making 3 out of 4 battalions of grenadiers.

* They were first raised in the last war by prince Potemkin.

† These Kozaks, by the explanation obtained from certain officers, (for the accuracy of which, however, I cannot vouch,) were sent from the rivers Khoper and Volga to Caucasus as colonists, and at the same time as a frontier-guard; and there settled. But, as on account of their performing duty, they had not quite established their household, they received the usual pay as Kozaks.

‡ The appellation being new, many persons (even in the army) are not properly acquainted with the meaning of it, though it is well known to be taken from the Black-sea. It denotes

men; Arnaut*-commandos 1419 men; volunteer cohorts 178 men; the tauridan 6 divisions, 1600 men.

denotes those whom prince Potemkin selected from the formerly *true* zaporogian Kozaks, that is, they who, on the abolition of their constitution, remained in the empire, or after they had emigrated soon returned and applied for military service. In reward for their zeal and bravery during the last war both by sea and land, the empress gave them by ukase, dated June 30, 1792, the island Phanagoria (formerly Taman,) in the district of Taurida, with the country between the river Kuban and the sea of Azof, along the coast to the town of Yeisk, and along the river to the mouth of the Laba, in fee simple for ever, with the order annexed that they should henceforth receive their commands through the governor-general of Taurida.

* This word in rufs is four syllables, and must be pronounced *Arna-uli*. The following account of them was communicated by a general-officer: " They are native
" Greeks, who, during the last war, served in the Archipe-
" lago. All their officers were of their own nation. At
" the conclusion of the war 4000 of them came to general
" Barfsef at Kertch and Yenicaly; these were divided into
" companies, but not of equal numbers. They were after-
" wards settled in various parts as colonists. Some Valak-
" hians and Moldavians associated with them, of whom
" several were likewise distributed into particular companies
" and obtained the name of Arnauts; hence we often hear
" of volokski Arnauti and molduanski Arnauti (valakhian
" and moldavian Arnauts.) In the two last turkish wars
" they were found to be of great service." — It was men-
tioned

1600 men. The corps of malo-russian Kozaks and hunters formed by order of prince Potemkin 5600 men.

GARRISONS: 109 battalions amounting to 85,206 men *. Besides these there are in the army distributed on the Dvina, 5 regiments of Don-kozaks each of 500 men; 1 Yamschtschiks-regiment of 1000 men †; 2 regiments of Baschkirs each of 500 men; 1 regiment of the Mestscheraeks of 500 men.

So far goes the list of the college of war. By which we see that the army in the last war, according to the report brought into the college of war, consisted of 334,164, but, comprising the garrisons, of 419,370 men. To reduce it to the peace-establishment deduct 21,200 men. —

tioned by another officer that the proper Arnauts proved bad Kozaks on horseback, when employed at the out-posts; but those of Moldavia and Valakhia were absolutely cowards and often ran away. He added, that many Arnauts had settled at Kherfon, where they enjoy ten free-years, and after that period were to pay annually 5 kopeeks for every desetine of land.

* So they are stated, according to the staff, by the college of war; but they are not always complete.

† They were raised in the last war from the carriers of Mosco, and obliged to arm themselves as kozaks.

But,

But, to that number still considerable corps remain to be added. We shall just mention them, without adverting to the corps of cadets and military academies. — To the proper army-establishment are to be reckoned :

1. The GUARDS : which consist of 1 regiment of horse, usually called the horse-guards, and by common computation amount to 1000 men : 3 regiments of infantry, vulgarly called the foot-guards, and are reckoned at 10,000 men ; but this number is too small : 1 corps of chevaliers or the chevalier-guards ; which, besides their upper and under officers, consist of 60 chevaliers, who are all officers (mostly lieutenants,) and as such inscribed in the field-regiments : 1 squadron of life-hussars : 1 squadron of life-kozaks.

The common statement which makes all these guards to be about 11,300 men is erroneous ; they should be estimated at least at 2500 more ; for all the four regiments have a great number of supernumerary subaltern officers *, which are

* Numbers of the young nobility are entered, particularly in the horse-guards. Even children are admitted by favour, and receive passports as subalterns. — It is said ; that in future not so many are to be transplanted into the army, as thereby deserving officers are often disappointed in the hopes of advancement.

gradually

gradually removed from them to the army as officers.

Some of these regiments are occasionally ordered to march against the enemy. To conclude; none of them have colonels, the emperors being colonel of each; the lieutenant-colonels or commanders are always men of high rank, as general-field-marshal.

2. The artillery, of which are reckoned all the troops under the command of the quartermaster-general. These are, according to the staff: 1 regiment of bombardiers of 2510 men; 2 regiments of cannoniers each of 2497 men; 2 regiments of fusileers each of 2497 men; the engineer-corps of 1065 men; 1 company of miners of 296 men; 1 company of pioneers of 245 men; the artillery-corps and its school 423 men; at the pontons are 798 men; with the artillery-horse are 3823 men; at the laboratories of Peterburg and Mosco 83 men, at Peterburg besides 286 men; in all the garrisons 8376 men; in the arsenals 1168 men. — Consequently, therefore, in all 29,061 men.

3. Some detached corps and commandos, particularly: 1. the soldiers employed at the mines, gardens, &c. Including the sons of the soldiers in the garrison-schools, who are maintained and taught at the crown's expence, and then

then put into the field regiments as writers, &c. the number was calculated a few years ago at 34,687. — 2. The military commandos for the several governments, which according to the number of circles consist in each government of 300 to 500 men, and are actual foldiers either as infantry or horse-dragoons*. As they are not always complete, we may set them down at about 13,000 men. — 3. The irregular troops of the lines, which instead of their taxes provide for the safety of the frontiers, such as the Ural-kozaks, Bafchkirs, Tungufes, &c. or must escort travellers, as various branches of the Don-kozaks. Their number can hardly be stated with accuracy; but it is very considerable. — 4. The great multitude of horse kept upon the coasts and the frontiers, forming a sort of militia, and are under their own officers or border-inspectors. Their number amounts to several thousands. 5. Jurats at the offices of the circles for rents and receipts, in which military persons, particularly subaltern officers are taken. In the whole empire they amount to some hundreds.

Taking all these together we shall find them to be about 600,000 men, of whom we may reckon at least 500,000 effective foldiers in actual

* Among them are many superannuated foldiers discharged from the marching regiments.

service. — The national militia is not here taken into the account, it having been abolished, and the troops converted into marching regiments*. — Whoever therefore would state the force of the russian army, should clearly define what he has regard to in so doing, namely, whether he means the whole of the land-forces including the guards, the whole artillery department, the garrisons, the provincial commandos, and the irregular troops; or merely comprises the proper field regiments, with or without the Kozaks in the field service, which are indeed still called irregular troops, but are so well disciplined that they may be used as trained hussars.

A few remarks may be here put together without being very anxious in the selection.

Though some authors ascribe but little value to the russian soldiers, yet others have begun of late to do them justice, on seeing with astonishment the great achievements which the russian

* So long ago as in the former turkish war, general field-marshal count Romantsof began to make some regiments which came to his army about the year 1771, into field-regiments, and to give them white instead of green uniforms. This national militia consisted of fine stout men, chiefly *odnodvortzi*; in their regiments great order and decorum was observed, and they were richly provided with all necessities.

army has performed. One writer affirms that the ruffian foldiers, like the invincible legions of the antient Romans, take one fortrefs after another, defeat the enemy whenever they can get fight of them, &c. Adding, that Ruffia alone was able to carry on a war againft the Turks with fuch fuccefs; that the Ruffian wants but little *, and that, (which however extravagantly expreffed, under limitations contains fome truth,) unprovided as he is, he proceeds to Conftantinople to provide himfelf better †. — It may therefore be afferted, that Ruffia without detri-

* It is incredible and inconceivable how the common foldier makes his fmall pay and provifion fuffice; nay, he even accumulates a little capital, or at leaft on holidays can afford to treat himfelf with ftrong liquors. Not to mention that at times a commander deprives him of fome under various pretexts. To fatisfy all his wants he has no more than a yearly pay of 6 or 7 rubles (in garrifon it is ftill lefs) with his allowance of flour and grits: he buys, in the mefs, meat and greafe or oil; clubs with fome others to purchafe a horfe to carry his little pack on long marches; muft pay for every button, &c. which he happens to lofe; and buy articles of clothes when thofe allowed him are not fufficient: for neither his two fhirts made of cheap linen, nor his boots, for which only 45 kopeeks are allowed him, (and therefore cheap leather is ufed,) with a pair of fhoes, will laft the year through with conftant ufe.

† Crantz, on various fubjects of modern hiftory, tom. iii. p. 124.

ment

ment may dispense with a number of strong fortifications, as the army supplies the place of them, and it is never accustomed to give way, if the commanders shew but proper courage. This may be the reason why so many fortifications which are not deemed necessary as tenable places on the frontiers, are not carefully kept up. However the empire has forts enough of various kinds.

Prince Potemkin introduced a great number of new regulations into the army. Among others, he saved the men great trouble and expence by freeing them from the necessity of dressing their hair with powder and whitening their leathers; he made them crop their hair instead of wearing curls; in place of the great hat, he gave them a casque or morion, which in winter protected their head from the cold; for the long sword of the cavalry he provided them with a short sabre, and entirely took away the side-arms from the infantry, leaving them only the bayonet; he exchanged the long coat for a sort of jacket*, with the addition of long loose pantaloons, &c.

* The officers likewise at present wear this short dress when on service, with the long trowsers; at other times they have their former uniforms; in several regiments they have even three or four different dresses.

— Several alterations were likewise made in the cavalry. Each regular regiment now consists of 6 squadrons, (formerly of 10 companies,) the first commanded by the colonel, the 6th by the lieutenant-colonel, the 2d by the premier-major, the 5th by the senior second-major, the 3d by the second second-major, (not known before,) the 4th by the senior captain. Besides the staff, every regiment had 6 captains, 12 lieutenants, and 13 cornets (one of whom must be commissary, i. e. receive and take care of the money and necessaries). Many regiments had upwards of 20 supernumerary captains *. Moreover, in most of the regiments of cavalry were likewise cadets, who must occasionally do duty as officers, and were better treated than subalterns. Each squadron consists of 2 companies, and each of these of 3 corporalships or 69 men who come in the front. Besides these to each company belong a plotnik or carpenter to make the baggage-waggon and whatever else is wanted of wood, a smith, and a tzerulnik or shaver, all three to be considered and paid as common troopers. Though each squadron presents only 138 horse in front, yet on account of the subalterns, &c.

* This is because many young subalterns are taken out of the guards to be made officers in the field-regiments; or even because not every one who is advanced can immediately find a post.

they are obliged to have 155 saddle-horses, besides draught horses.

In the turkish war the army being obliged to act in several places at once, the troops were divided into so many corps, and therefore the main body of the army was sometimes not very numerous, and yet was always victorious; what must we conclude but that the men are brave, and capable of any enterprize *. Anecdotes are related of brave and resolute officers who acquired great renown in the two last wars against the Turks by acts of real heroism †; and as for the

* We are not in general to consider so much the numbers as the utility and courage of the soldiers, and the success that has every where attended them, particularly in modern times. A veteran soldier will even frequently inspire fortitude into a young officer. — Among a great many other anecdotes which I might quote, I shall mention only one of an officer of the yægers, who, defending a place in Finland in 1790, received 16 wounds. On his falling, two of his people helped him up and stood supporting him, saying, “Only command us, and we shall certainly conquer!” He commanded, and they kept their word. The Swedes were beat off, and the russian yæger-commando maintained their posts under their lieutenant, who was therefore made a major.

† Their names are known either by the gazettes or by the rewards they received, at least in part. It is not only turkish and other irregular armies; they are able to beat regulars also, as was evinced in the seven years war as well as the last war with the Turks.

men, they were pronounced even by Frederic II. to be excellent foldiers. The ruffian foldier will not fall back one ftep, while his commander bravely keeps his ground; he contents himfelf with an extremely little pay, and with very flemder diet, and is always cheerful; hungry and thirfty, he traverses the heavy fands of the deferts under the load of his accoutrements, without murmur or complaint*; executes every command; reckons nothing impoffible or too difficult; does every thing that he is ordered without fhunning any danger; and is inventive of a thoufand means for accomplifhing his defign. What may not be performed with fuch an † army when led on by experienced and valiant generals

* That is, when he fees that the commander is not to blame for the fcarcity. — Indeed the veteran foldier will hold out longer than the young recruit.

† We need only advert to the victories which a fmall body fometimes gained over a party of the enemy confifting of twice their number, in the two laft turkifh wars. The fame obfervation may be made concerning the fleet. The good qualities we afcribe to the Ruffian lie in his national character as being proper to the whole nation. It is fomewhat furprifing that perfons who cannot deny them to the ruffian foldiers, (and likewife to the boors,) yet pretend that they proceed either from their vaffalage or their inherent ftupidity: the Don-kozak is no vaffal, and yet is brave; the ruffian boor is indeed a vaffal, but he is any thing lefs than ftupid: he is extremely artful and cunning, and fitted by nature for every thing.

in

in whom they have confidence *. Let the soldier but see that he is spared as much as possible, he attaches himself with all his soul to his commander †, and performs almost miracles. — Well might the empress ‡ denominate the Russians an obedient, brave, intrepid, enterprising, and powerful people.

The opinion generally adopted, that Peter I. was the first who took foreign officers into his service, and raised regular regiments by their means, is unfounded; perhaps also the addition, that he learned the manual exercise in the first formed company; for, without mentioning the *strelitzes*, which had been established long be-

* Peter I. knew his countrymen, when he said after suffering many losses, that his army would soon learn to beat Charles XII. at first the attack of a disciplined regular enemy was a strange thing to them.

† In the turkish war of 1770, general Prozoroffsky allowed his corps to appear without hair-powder and without whitening their leathers: by this indulgence he won the hearts of his soldiers. — Prince Potemkin, some few years since, discarded throughout the army, not only a part of their heavy arms, for instance, the pallas of the infantry, but also the inconvenient narrow coat, the hair-dressing which was such a heavy loss on their time and their sleep, and which caused an unnecessary expence in powder, with other inconveniences; and all the world knows how the soldiers were attached to him with heartfelt gratitude.

‡ In her letter of grace to the nobility in 1785.

fore him as a sort of regular militia in continual service, but which he for weighty reasons abolished, his father had already caused several, quite regular regiments, to be formed by foreign officers, which were stationed not at Mosco but at Tula: among these were particularly Englishmen and Scotsmen. In the archives of the college of war are preserved the lists of them and their pay*. These officers might put a regiment on the foreign footing; but it was not by their doing that the Russian soldier had those good qualities just mentioned, and which form a part of the national character. On the other hand Peter I. was the creator of his army, not by having formed some regular regiments, but by constituting it purely of such, with the exception of the irregular troops still in being, and by introducing the raising of recruits and the head-money instead of the former practice of making the nobles and their serfs do service in the camp†.

— Ever

* Two regiments, one of cavalry and another of infantry were commanded by a Scotsman as colonel, and have a staff's company in each of them; he received four times the usual pay.

† Many little anecdotes are related of what happened on this occasion, most of them perhaps the invention of an idle moment, or at least much exaggerated; but, supposing they were true, they excite neither laughter nor surprise, as, on the introduction of foreign customs, the like might have happened

— Ever since his time, every German, without regard to birth, upon proper behaviour is gradually advanced, and becomes an officer *. However, the late empress granted considerable privileges by ukase to the nobility. A young man of burgher condition must have performed twelve years of good service before he is made an officer, (particularly good conduct produces ex-

happened in any country. — According to one of them, at that time a certain boyar thought a major-general superior to a lieutenant-general, and in making out the patent, in the emperor's absence, committed a mistake. Of another we are told, that, instead of giving an officer the reprimand, or putting him under arrest, as he was bid, he ordered him to have the battogues (i. e. to be beaten with sticks); but general Ogilvie, an Englishman, who had come from the austrian service, drew up the articles of war, became the only lieutenant field-marshal in the russian army, and lastly went back to Austria, was so incensed at this behaviour, that he threatened, with all the foreign officers, to quit the service unless the aggrieved officer was honourably discharged, and compensated in some way or other for the insult he had received. As the boyar knew that subalterns even of noble birth might be corporally punished with beating, (which was only abolished by the late empress in the year 1775,) he might be led into the mistake that such punishment was proper for the offending officer.

* Even under-officers, who by birth were vassal-boors, may by good behaviour rise to be officers.

ceptions to this rule). Accordingly, whoever enters the military service, whether in the guards or in marching regiments, if he would get early promotion must bring proof of his noble descent. — As the nobility by this means are rapidly advanced, we see in the marching regiments a number of young officers, particularly from the guards, who, after having served or been enlisted some years, have been removed thither*. Nevertheless there are persons enough who have grown grey under arms, or sometimes, especially in profound peace, remain long in the same post†. — Some were apprehensive that the army would lose many good officers by the introduction of the new mode of governing the provinces; because posts in the civil department are attended with more convenience and a better salary. But it occasioned no defect in the army; nay, many regiments, previous to the breaking out of the last war, had several supernumerary staff-officers as well as others.

* It was long a practice for young noblemen, especially livonians, &c. to procure patents as polish officers, and then to enter the russian service as officers, without having served; but Catharine II. reformed this abuse.

† This was particularly the case before the last turkish war, in the heavy cavalry; which made promotion very slow in coming.

During

During and soon after the war of 1770 the late empress thought good to make several regulations in the army. Among others she ordered that all the heavy cavalry should have their own chief, namely, the general field-marshal count Romantzof; as well as the light-horse, theirs in the person of the general field-marshal prince Potemkin. Farther, that some personages, become famous for great exploits, should have honourable surnames annexed to those of their family, as, Romantzof-Zadunaisky, Potemkin-Tavritschesky, Suvarof-Kymnitsky; as also, that some, as a particular mark of favour, should have a peculiar regiment, though under the former reigns, no general * had ever received the like. To this must be especially added, that prince Potemkin was appointed general inspector of the whole army, to whom several sub-inspectors were added. He put a stop to numberless disorders, abuses, and usurpations, which had crept into some regiments, and called several negligent or rapacious commanders to a severe account.

* The empress Elizabeth in the seven-years-war gave a company the name of the Schuvalof-corps. — The regiments formerly never took their names from a general, but always from a town or province. Latterly some exceptions have been made to this rule.

By

By the entirely new arrangement adopted for the army in 1764, the colonels acquired much more authority than before, and at the same time the opportunity for making considerable advantage, especially in the cavalry*. Some people expressed great surprise at this; but without reason, for the colonels were still under the same responsibility as before; and the crown which had been formerly obliged to pay very dear for many of the necessaries belonging to the regiments, saved great sums of money by the new regulation. — Under the empress Elizabeth many young colonels, who had interest at court, frequently got a great deal by it, or allowed their soldiers all manner of licence. Previous to the seven-years-war four regiments were particularly notorious, and many towns were terrified on hearing that either of them were to be quartered there, and would raise a sum of money to be free from such guests. In the late

* This was done by the purchase of horses, forage, and other necessaries, particularly when the cavalry were not completely mounted. — However, these are matters with which we have nothing to do. We shall only just mention, that many had rather always remain colonels than be appointed generals, as in that case they lose their regiment. Only brigadiers remain as colonels with their regiments,

reign none of these disorders happened, as the empress was extremely anxious and took care to provide that the subjects should neither be molested in their houses nor their business by the quartering of soldiers, and which she caused to be expressly inculcated in the articles of war.

In general it may be affirmed, that no army in Europe proportionately costs so little as the russian *, and that no foldier in Europe can subsist

* The first equipment of a dragoon costs 17 rubles $45\frac{1}{4}$ kopecks, and afterwards yearly 7 rubles $29\frac{27}{100}$ kopecks. However, for the first, some articles furnished from the commissariat are not included, such as saddle, bridle, &c. nor horse, forage, standing, and keep. — Concerning the pay of the officers, it must be observed, 1. that the officers of the garrison-regiments in the towns of the Baltic have double the pay of other garrison-regiments; 2. that the officers of all marching regiments have three times the pay of the officers of the regiments in the provinces; 3. that the private men in the guards have double the pay of those in the marching regiments.

A general field-marshal is allowed per annum 7000 rubles 200 rations, valued at 1140 rubles and 16 denshiks or servants.

	Rubles.	Rations.		Rubles.	Densh.
A general in chief	3600	80	=	456	12
A lieutenant-general	2160	50	=	285	10
A major-general	1800	40	=	228	8
A brigadier	840	20	=	171	7

In the marching regiments a colonel is allowed yearly 600 rubles, for rations 96 rubles 90 kopecks and 6 denshiks or servants.

A lieu-

subsist on so little pay as the russian *. — The annual expenditure for the support of the army will be touched upon occasionally in the following section.

	Rubles.	Rubl ^s	Kop.	Densh.
A lieutenant-colonel	360.	For rations, 62	70	4
A major - - -	300.	—	62	70 3
A captain - - -	180.	—	28	50 2
A lieutenant - - -	120.	—	22	80 1
A second lieutenant	84.	—	17	10 1
An ensign - - -	84.	—	17	10 1
A quarter master of				
a regiment - - -	84.	—	22	80 1
An adjutant - - -	120.	—	22	80 1

From this table, and the paragraph immediately preceding it, we may find out the pay of the officers belonging to the regiments in the garrisons and governments. — A private man is allowed yearly 10 rubles 98 kopecks, besides three barrels of meal, a certain quantity of grist or coarse oatmeal, 24 pounds of salt, and flesh to the value of 72 kopecks : all these articles are computed at 5 rubles 74 kopecks. But 6 rubles 35 kopecks are deducted from the pay of every private man for clothing, medicines, flesh, cartridges, and repairing of firelocks. His whole clothing from head to foot costs near 12 rubles. — The denshiks are taken out of the recruits to attend on the officers : and for the support of every one of these, 11 rix dollars and $2\frac{1}{2}$ kopecks are paid annually out of the military chest ; but the masters are obliged to clothe them.

* What other european foldier will subsist on an annual pay not amounting to more than 7 or 8 rubles, or when in garrison only half that sum, and with the nicely weighed allowance of grits and flour ?

SECTION II.

Of the Navy.

RUSSIA is possessed of several fleets, entirely distinct from each other. She has one in the Baltic, and another in the Euxine: the former under the admiralty of St. Petersburg; but not the latter, which, therefore, cannot in any point of view be considered as only a division of the other; and by an especial ukase, on account of its distance, has its own high-admiral, who was prince Potemkin. To these must be added a third, the galley-fleet, whose chief was the prince of Nassau-Siegen, but immediately under the empress. — All the three fleets were in actual service during the last war.

The emperor Peter I. was creator of the Russian fleet. Before his reign the Russians had, indeed, small vessels for mercantile or transport service, which they navigated along the coasts and on the rivers; but they were such wretched things as we still see in some places on the rivers between Kola and Archangel, &c. no iron is used in their construction, not even a single nail. Armed vessels, much less ships of war, were at that time not known in Russia. But that great monarch

monarch travelled into foreign countries for the sake of learning a better method of building ships, and of introducing it into his empire. He raised a maritime force *, and caused a set of regulations to be printed for the establishment of a navy. Since his decease the government has not always bestowed the same degree of attention on the fleet.

In the year 1741 it consisted of 23 ships of the line, 9 frigates, 3 bomb-ketches, 7 prames, and 80 new-built gallies.

In 1757 they could only count 21 line of battle ships, (some of which were in very bad condition,) 6 frigates, 2 bomb-ketches, 2 prames, 2 fire-ships, and 90 gallies. — The crews for the whole fleet, including the gallies, were computed at 20,239 men, which, however, (as usual,) were not complete.

In the year 1781 they had 34 ships of war, but their number was to be increased to 54 †. Whether so many first-rates, without the frigates, were always kept up in time of peace;

* Mr. Coxe is of opinion, that the seas belonging to the empire produced the fleet, though not sufficient exercise for the sailors: but experience has shewn this to be a mistake.

† The same author mentions them to have had in the year 1778 38 ships of the line, 15 frigates, 4 prames, and 109 gallies.

also whether at the commencement of the last war (as some were frequently laid by as old and unfit for service) so many were actually in being for the Baltic, I cannot determine. That Russia had considerable fleets, forming together a very respectable naval force, every one knows from the several actions that have taken place in the Baltic and in the Black sea, or may be seen from the following cursory view *.

The **BALTIC FLEET**, at the breaking out of the war in 1788, was of strength sufficient to defeat the aims of the Swedish navy, by coming off victorious in an engagement. The force off Hochland consisted of 30 sail, whereof 17 were of the line, (one of 108 guns, the rest of 74 and 64,) together carrying 1228 cannons, and 7 large frigates. But at that time some men of war had sailed to Copenhagen, and 6 lay at Archangel nearly ready for sea. Accordingly, we must not limit the whole fleet to that number †; besides, all the ships were not sent out.

On their appearing at sea again in the following year 1789 they were stated by some to con-

* It will not be deemed superfluous, as no book that I know of delivers a satisfactory account of the Russian navy.

† Gatterer, in his *Abriss der Geographie*, p. 326, where he probably means only the Baltic fleet, sets it down at 30 or 40 ships of the line, and in all about 180 sail.

list of 33 line of battle ships, without reckoning those which went to the galley fleet under vice-admiral Kruse: for, at the sea fight (if the mere cannonading of some ships may be so called) the russian fleet, according to their own account, consisted of 20 ships of the line, with some frigates and smaller vessels; others spoke of 22 first-rates and 6 frigates. Presently afterwards they were considerably reinforced by the coming up of the afore-mentioned ships from Kioeger bay.

But they were all this while at work in the yards of Cronstadt, Petersburg, and Archangel, in making a considerable addition to the fleet. For it is well known that from autumn 1788 to the summer of 1789, at Petersburg and Cronstadt the following men of war were built: 3 of 100 guns, 4 other ships of the line, (all of oak and sheathed with copper,) 3 chebecks of 36 guns, 6 schooners of 28 guns, with several galleys* and gun-boats. But at the conclusion of the year 1789 twenty ships of war quite new lay ready at Archangel†. Without these the fleet
at

* Some of the journals affirmed, that almost all the galleys were new-built; but they were wrongly informed, as several of the old were retained for service.

† This is stated on the authority of a sea officer of great credibility, who was at Archangel in the year 1789, and frequently

at sea on the 26th of May 1790 consisted of 30 ships of the line and 18 frigates.

The FLEET IN THE BLACK SEA was already very considerable when the late empress was at Taurida, so as to excite in her a very agreeable surprise. — In the year 1787 it consisted of about 18 ships of the line, that is, 12 at Sevastopol and 6 at Kherfon *; of 24 frigates, 6 gun-boats, and a great number of transports. In 1789 the fleet in actual service was 11 line of battle ships and several large frigates. In 1790 it is mentioned in the *Hamburgh gazette* as composed of 12 men of war of the line, a great number of frigates, gallies, chebecks, and gun-boats, with 200 flat-bottomed vessels. — The fleet in the Liman was composed of 35 sail in the year 1788, but on account of the shallows there had no large ships.

In the Archipelago there were only 3 ships in the year 1789, namely 1 frigate of 36 guns, another of 20, and 1 chebeck of 16.

frequently kept watch on board those new ships. — Perhaps it might be for want of sailors that they were not already in the Baltic.

* It is well known that such large ships of war can neither be built nor employed there as in the Baltic, from the want of sufficient depth of water in many places.

But Russia has also raised a flotilla on the Bogue and on the Dniepr, not far from Bender. At the end of the year 1789 it consisted already of 40 schooners, of 6 to 12 guns; but in the spring of 1790 they were 100 complete.

The GALLEY FLEET came into notice again by the sea fight in the year 1789. — Peter I. had made use of this fleet in his war against Sweden, as did afterwards the empress Elizabeth on a like occasion. — That in the summer of 1789 it did not consist entirely of new gallies, but that several of the old were retained for service* has been already mentioned. In the engagement of the $\frac{1}{4}$ th of August, the number of all the vessels belonging to this fleet, great and small, was reported at 110, which was pretty near the truth; for, by the account of an officer, who was then on board the fleet, the frigates, gallies, gun-boats, &c. all together were 104; though, for various reasons, all were not in the engagement, and therefore the victory ought not to be ascribed to the superiority of numbers. Besides, the swedish fleet had taken a very advantageous position among the islands, and blocked up the passage where they apprehended an attack. On which account it caused the rus-

* Some were found to be utterly unserviceable, and sent back to St. Petersburg.

fian fleet so much trouble to come at them: however, they surmounted all difficulties, and gained the well-known decisive victory*. In the year following, 1790, they appeared in much greater force at sea.

The admiralty is at Petersburg, with a high admiral at its head, which place was held by the grand duke for many years. As an imperial college it belongs to a following article. — That the fleet in the Euxine or Black sea is not under its cognizance has been already remarked.

The Baltic fleet in the year 1789, besides its high admiral and some other officers of eminence, had 1 admiral, (in 1786 there were three,) 4 vice-admirals, and 5 contre-admirals; amongst whom such admirals and vice-admirals are not comprised as were appointed to the galley-haven, the marine-cadet-corps, or as general pay-masters, general-commissaries at war, &c.

* Had the plan succeeded to its full extent, scarcely one ship belonging to the Swedes would have escaped. The attack was begun with impetuosity from behind, in order to force the passage that had been blocked up, which was likewise successfully accomplished. A slighter attack was to have been made in front, where, as the Swedes had left there an open passage, they would have been cut off from all means of saving themselves by flight. The latter met with some impediments that have never yet been specified, or explained.

To infer the regulation of Peter I. relating to the rank and pay of the admirals and officers, &c. of his fleet, with all the alterations it has hitherto undergone, would only swell our pages without being of any utility. A few short notices will amply suffice. In regard to rank :

The high admiral has the rank and pay of a general field-marshal in the army. An admiral has those of a general in chief. A vice-admiral those of a lieutenant-general. A contre-admiral those of a major-general.

The captains in the navy were divided by Peter I. into three classes : to those of the first class he gave the rank of colonel ; to those of the second, the rank of lieutenant-colonel ; and to those of the third class that of major. There were still the captain-commanders, to whom he assigned the rank of a brigadier. At present we never hear of a captain of the third class ; the rank is allotted as follows :

The captain-commander has the rank of a brigadier in the army. The captain of the first class the rank of a colonel. The captain of the second class that of a lieutenant-colonel. The captain-lieutenant that of premier-major. The lieutenant has the rank of a captain in the army, and the midshipman that of a lieutenant.

The

The first captain sometimes gets the rank of a major-general, without being therefore raised to a contre-admiral, as was the case with our countryman Mr. Gibbs, who stands in the lists as "captain of the fleet with the rank of major-general," with some others, as Melnikof, Odintzof, &c.

The pay of the general-admiral or high admiral per annum is 7000 rubles. That of an admiral 3600; a vice-admiral 2160; a contre-admiral 1800; a captain-commander 840; a lieutenant 200, and a midshipman 120 rubles. — It is here to be remarked, that the officers are also allowed *dentschiks* *, or servants, namely, a lieutenant 2, and the rest in proportion. Likewise when they are at sea the officers are allowed table-money, viz. in the Baltic each officer monthly 7 rubles, and the captain somewhat more. On long voyages this allowance is increased †. — Formerly every captain was presented by the crown with a service of silver-plate; but this custom has been long left off.

* It has before been mentioned that these servants are taken from the recruits. When the government is apprehensive of burdening too much the empire by frequent and numerous levies, the naval officer sometimes must be content with fewer, and even with no *dentschiki* at all.

† In the Archipelago, if I am not mistaken, in the turkish war of 1770, the monthly allowance was 12 rubles,

It scarcely need be mentioned, that the officers not only take precedence according to their rank, but whenever that is equal, it is settled by seniority*. Thus, for instance, especially on board of large ships where there are several lieutenants together, the elder may give orders to the younger. — A captain-lieutenant can only have the command of a frigate. — On board of ship the navy-officer has the command over the land-officer, even in cases where the latter is of higher rank†.

The sailors are divided into 2 classes: to the first belong the experienced, at 18 rubles per annum each; but those of the second class have only 12. But we are very lately assured, that the tertial‡ of each of the first class is only 3

* He that is older in the service cannot without affront be ordered by a younger, but when they come together the latter must resign the command to the former.

† Some officers of the army unacquainted with this, and what is more, some officers of the guards, who were on board the galley-fleet in the year 1789, expressed at first great astonishment and took umbrage at it. The latter, particularly, thought that nobody but the empress could put them under arrest. But an order soon came from court that taught them better.

‡ Instead of quarterly payments, as usual in England, all officers and placemen in Russia, whether civil, military, naval, or ecclesiastical, receive their pay by tertials, that is, at three stated times in the year.

rubles

rubles 60 kopeeks, and that those of the second receive no more than 2 rubles 50 kopeeks, which amounts annually for the first to 10 rubles 30 kopeeks, and for the latter to 7 rubles 50 kopeeks *. Moreover, they are fed while at sea; but when on shore each receives his ordinary provision, as in the land service. — The sailors are not left without hopes of promotion, as the several offices and posts about the ship are conferred upon them according to their good behaviour. Any one who knows how to write has a chance of being advanced to be skipper, in which capacity he has the care of the sails, cordage, &c. and at the same time is raised to the rank of a captain in the army, (but never higher,) and yet remains skipper as before. — The children of the sailors and marines are kept at school, and at length promoted to steerfmen, with which they likewise may have the rank of captain in the army, but without, therefore, lay-

* This account is from the mouth of a very credible naval officer; but, as it has been advanced by some travellers, that the sailors receive 15 rubles monthly, it must be observed, that this ought not to be understood of the ordinary pay: only some free people, who came and offered themselves to serve on board the galley-fleet, received monthly from 8 to 15 rubles. Even the turkish prisoners, who were in Petersburg, tempted by this great pay, offered to serve in the galley-fleet.

ing down the post of a steersman. — To a ship of 100 guns the crew is usually reckoned at 1000 men, in which are included sailors, marines, (who are commonly called battalions,) and the engineers*. But the crews are not always complete.

The harbours for the fleet have been already mentioned, nothing more therefore need here be said of them. — The expence attending the maintenance of the navy was formerly estimated at about 1,200,000 rubles: in regard to which we are to consider that many articles are very cheap in Russia, and that the crews are paid much less wages than in other countries, particularly in England. At present, as a greater number of fleets are kept up, and as they consist of far more ships than formerly, the cost must be exceedingly increased.

Russia had formerly no more than two dock-yards, those of Petersburg and Archangel, to which have latterly been added those of Kherfon, Cronstadt, and Taurida. The ship-yard at Kherfon was absolutely necessary while there was

* The swedish officers who were taken prisoners in the year 1790, confessed that the russian fleet had excellent artillery. Their own fleet was in want of artillerists; and therefore their cannon did far less injury than the russian.

no better place at which to build ships for the Euxine : but the situation is rather inconvenient, not only because timber there must be procured at a very high price, but also chiefly because large ships cannot without difficulty be brought across the Liman ; for which purpose they must be entirely unloaded and dismasted. The harbours of Taurida afford far more commodious places for dock-yards.

At Petersburg and Cronstadt the men of war are constructed of oak, transported thither from the regions of Kazan at a great expence. Indeed, in several districts much nearer single oak-trees are found ; in Lettland and in Esthonia, particularly in the circle of Hapsal, even oak-forests, but they are small, whereas those of Kazan and Voronetch are of pretty large growth. Tzar Peter I. ordered them to be carefully spared and encouraged for the purposes of ship-building. Accordingly foresters were appointed, who had discharged soldiers under them : but these people were a great plague to the inhabitants, and committed all manner of excesses amongst them * ;

* For instance, they threw oak-boughs into the court-yards of the Tartars, and then accused them of having cut down oaks ; or bones of pork, and charged them with having kept hogs, which is prohibited by the mohammedan religion, &c.

for which reason they were abolished in the year 1762 *. However, every land-owner is careful of his oaks, as he can always get a good price for them. In Petersburg every pood of oak-timber, including the expence of transport, sells for 15 to 25 kopeeks.

At Archangel the ships are built of the wood of the larch-tree †, which is very cheap; a quantity sufficient for the construction of a ship of 60 guns costs there, if purchased with integrity and caution, about 3000 rubles, and perhaps somewhat more. But for particular parts of the vessel oak-timber is used, which is also brought thither from the precincts of Kazan ‡.

* Busching, in the earlier editions of his Geography, mentions a forester still in 1770 in the district of Kazan; it is possible that there might be one, but the office was abolished in 1762.

† Some german writers are of opinion that if the larch afford not better timber than the oak, it is at least as good; this I leave undecided, but I doubt it very much. At times the fir is used with the larch in considerable quantities.

‡ Mr. Busching, in the last edition of his Geography, commits a slight mistake in saying that at Archangel the ships are built of the oak-timber growing there. No oaks at all grow there, as I have been uniformly told by officers belonging to the yard, as well as by our worthy countryman the late Mr. Yeames, who was master-ship-builder there for many years.

Though

Though oak-timber is so dear at Petersburg, yet 20 years ago enough for a ship of 80 guns might be had for only about 10,000 rubles ; and the fir-timber for a light vessel (ketch, pink, or yacht) capable of carrying from 20 to 30 cannons, about 900 rubles. But, from the great consumption of it since, waste, neglect, and other causes, the price of it now is greatly raised ; the timbers for one of these light vessels can perhaps hardly be got by the crown for 2000 rubles. A half-chebeck completely finished costs it now about 12,000 ; but a ship of the line of 100 guns fully equipped, at least 100,000 rubles *, or even more.

It

* This, however, is only to be understood of the last war : formerly every thing was much cheaper, as the crown employed its own people as workmen ; but since, by reason of the great increase of business, it is obliged to hire strangers, who, according to their capacities receive wages unheard of at the yards there. It was well known however, and the empress knew it herself, that great impositions were practised in making the contracts, and in many other particulars. It was this that occasioned admiral sir Charles Knowles, while he was in that country to tell her majesty, that the expence and waste was such, that if her whole empire was made of wood, the people at the yards would find means to consume it all and ruin her exchequer besides ; adding, that he would engage to fetch all the materials for ship-building from Russia, pay the duties upon them, and deliver

It has been more than once observed by former writers, that the oak-timber of Russia and of the north, in general, is not so durable as in other countries. This however is not assented to by others, who affirm that probably negligence and want of attention, in concurrence with the fresh water of the Neva, may greatly contribute to a premature corruption *; for they assert it to

deliver to her from England ships completely equipped at much less cost than they stood her in at her own dock-yards. — Among other rumours it was said that a certain chancery had formerly given in a report that the stores in the magazines were spoilt; having received the wished-for order to sell them all to the public, certain persons of that office, by means of their confidants, bought all the best at a very low price; then, by a *podrad* (contract) with the same chancery, struck a bargain for new deliveries, and sent back to the magazines the very materials at a very high price which they had declared to be spoilt. — Of numberless impositions of the same nature Catharine II. had too much sagacity not to be aware; but she did not know rightly how to help herself: she considered them as things of a like nature have been considered in other countries, as the cheese-parings and candle-ends of a great buttery. — Many a cable and many an anchor have been lost and supplied in the first port after leaving Cronstadt in a favouring breeze, and many a suit of sails has been blown away in extremely fine weather.

* They think particularly that some of the fault may lie in the choice of the timber and in the working it up; the latter

to be a well-known fact, that if oak-timber be felled with due precaution and at the proper season, then set to dry in the shade and under cover, and lastly laid for a time in salt-water to soak, it acquires its due degree of durability. The admiralty has not been inattentive to this important object, by proposing a premium to the best literary productions upon it *. The fresh-water † cannot possibly be avoided while Cronstadt is the only safe and spacious harbour for the fleet. Were Roggervyk ‡ in Esthonia put into a proper condition it would no longer need

latter is done perhaps too hastily and without proper inspection: the former being delivered by podrad, the seller very easily finds means for hood-winking the receiver. It has not unfrequently happened that ships immediately after the launch have been pronounced unserviceable.

* One of these was obtained by pastor Grassman in the year 1779 for his dissertation on the long duration of ship-timber; on which subject he published a larger work in 1790.

† Admiral Knowles said that the fresh-water of the Neva was less injurious to the ships than a number of salt-water tricks that he could mention.

‡ The unfurmountable obstacles which the late empress met with in the prosecution of this grand and expensive undertaking, made her resolve on abandoning the project in the year 1788.

to

to lie in fresh-water. — Some think it probable that at Reval* a better harbour than that of Cronstadt might be had, in regard to the water, if only half the money were to be laid out upon it that has been expended at Roggervyk. — Perhaps it would be possible to make a good harbour in the bay towards Vyborg.

In regard to the ship-yards it remains to be mentioned, that the ships at Petersburg and Archangel are built in docks, and then launched from the stocks, by which method a ship is liable to suffer great damage†; whereas at Cronstadt, when the ship is ready, water is let into the canal, and it floats out without any possibility of hurt. — The dock-yards at Archangel are not in the town, but at 5 versts distance

* It was rumoured at St. Petersburg that proposals had been made for enlarging the harbour at Reval. Undoubtedly it might be enlarged, and at no very enormous expence: but the question is, whether it would afford a proper security against storms. There is one difficulty at Reval as well as at Cronstadt, that the sea in the spring is rather late in being freed from ice. This prevents the ships from running out early. The case is very different at Roggervyk.

† This happened not many years since to a frigate at Archangel, as she was launching she broke her back and then beat in one of her bows by running against the pier, so that she was obliged to undergo a thorough repair.

from

from it on an island in the Dvina, named Solombol *, pretty large and inhabited by people that belong to the yards; but all the houses are of timber, though two stories high, on account of the frequent inundations to which it is subject in the spring. Opposite to it, on the other side of the river, dwell the pilots. Ships that are ready, and yet are not immediately ordered to sea, as it would be impossible for them to winter in the river on account of the current of ice at its breaking up, are conducted 30 versts higher up, where they have a sort of harbour between the islands †. There is a kind of fort with a garrison; but without that, its situation, and the parts adjacent, and the nature of the channel, render it secure enough against any hostile attempts. At this place too always lie a great number of transport-vessels, for carrying cannons, stores, provisions, &c. to the men of war, when they are to be fitted out for sea, from the magazines at Archangel. The complete equipment, however, cannot be done there, nor nearer than 70 versts

* Busching calls it Solombal, and not an island, but a part of the town of Archangel. A very trifling error, only just worth this notice.

† Probably this is the place which Busching calls Lapominka.

from Solombol, in the district where the light-house stands. To that place the ship must be conducted by pilots, because the proper channel, notwithstanding the breadth of the river, is extremely narrow and abounds in shoals; and there is particularly a large sand-bank which requires very nice management. All things considered therefore the construction and equipment of men of war are here attended with many inconveniences; to which is still to be added, that by the inundations which occasionally arise on the island many of the materials and stores are carried away and lost, or great damages are otherwise sustained by the crown. — But how different from all this is Cronstadt*.

Though Russia has always had a fleet throughout the present century, yet whether from want of opportunity or want of management, it never displayed its force and consequence under any of the former reigns†. But the navy under Catharine

* Of which we have given a sufficient description already, vol. i. p. 228.

† It has been affirmed by eye-witnesses, who served in the war of Finland, in the reign of the empress Elizabeth, that the galley-fleet was at that time very inactive against the Swedes, frequently being at a loss to know what to do, retreating sometimes with timidity, and cautiously avoiding
all

Catharine II. in the two last wars against the Turks and in that against the Swedes, manifested to the world what it could do, and with what brave people it was manned. The conceit that they were not trained till the war of 1770, is confuted by the transactions of that period. For the russian fleet did not then gradually learn to gain a battle, but set out at once by defeating an enemy with a far greater number of ships, and shortly afterwards annihilated his navy*. The fleet with oars was not indeed brought out in the former of the two turkish wars, and yet was able to bid defiance to Sweden in regard to experienced seamen.

all possibility of coming to an engagement; till general Keith bore down amongst them and brought them into order. To which they added, that many of the officers betrayed the most consummate ignorance in maritime affairs.

* The notion that foreign officers have had the greater share in every signal transaction is nothing to the purpose: for they have never been commanders in chief; and even if that had been the case they could have done but little if the fleet were in bad condition. As they were navigating seas where the russian flag had never before been displayed, it was surely necessary to provide themselves with foreign officers who were acquainted with those seas.

As the empress, even in the midst of peace, was always building new ships of war at various places, which only waited for crews for being able to appear at sea, several of them were kept ever in readiness at Archangel; and as, besides, two navies were then maintained, of the Baltic and the Euxine, it was difficult to ascertain the precise number of all the men of war from private accounts. However, Beaufort* greatly exaggerates the matter, by affirming that Russia, in the year 1787, had a marine consisting of 100 ships of the line. Not even about the years 1790 and 1791, though at that time all the shipyards were fully employed, could she number so many, even should we take into the account the large frigates which might act with those of the line. For, according to an authentic statement made by several eye-witnesses, there lay in the year 1791, to be ready in case of emergency, not far from Cronstadt 32 ships of the line, and 10 large frigates which were capable of being placed in the line, with all the necessary transports†, and a row-fleet consisting of 240 galleys;

* In his *Grand portefeuille politique*.

† The Hamburg gazettes of 1791 speak of 33 line of battle ships, (among them 5 of 100 guns) 16 frigates, and 24 cutters.

all excellently equipped and manned: besides several men of war that were left behind unrigged in the mole of Cronstadt, and some entirely new at Archangel. But at that time it appeared by the Petersburg-gazette, that in the last engagement with the Turks July 31, 1791, there were in the Euxine 16 ships, 2 frigates, 2 bomb-ketches, 1 repeating transport, 1 fire-ship, and 17 cruizers. At the same time in the Archipelago, by the Hamburg-gazette, the russian fleet consisted of 12 ships, which it is well known were not of the line*.

In 1795 the fleet fitted out at Cronstadt to cruise in the Baltic consisted of 6 ships of 100 guns; 10 of 74 guns, 3 of 66 guns, 6 frigates, and 2 cutters. The auxiliary fleet sent to England by the empress was composed of 4 ships of 74 guns, 8 of 66 guns, 6 frigates, and 2 cutters.

The state of the russian fleet at Sevastopol in the spring of 1796, after all the old vessels had been condemned, was as follows:

* What figure this force, accustomed to encounter the swedish fleet, would have made against that which the cabinet of London threatened to send into the Baltic, must be now left entirely to conjecture.

1 ship of 90 guns	- - - - 90
1 — 80	- - - - 80
3 — 74	- - - - 222
6 — 64	- - - - 384
<hr/>	
11 ships of the line	776
8 large frigates	362
<hr/>	
19	Total 1,138 guns

besides those on the stocks, which are now finished.

The flotilla at Odissa, or Khogia-bay, consisted altogether of 25 very large and 60 vessels of inferior magnitude to be used as transport-vessels for conveying the troops.

These vessels are sixty-four to seventy feet in length, draw six feet water when loaded, and carry one very large cannon. They are rigged with a latten sail and jib, and are provided with twenty-four oars; besides these, there are in these ports a great number of other transports, bomb-ketches, schooners, brigs, &c,

V I E W
OF THE
RUSSIAN EMPIRE.

B O O K VII.

REVENUES OF THE EMPIRE.

IT is no wonder if foreigners entertain mistaken notions of the revenues of Russia, since in the country itself they are not to be accurately ascertained, not even in the office of the treasurer-general *. Because the sums which are there brought to account are only a part, though a very considerable part of them.

The empire has sources which though extremely productive do not properly come under the head of the stated revenue, but principally

* Nor was any imperial high-treasurer appointed; the general-procureur, prince Vasemsky, always executed that office.

belong to proprietary establishments. For, 1. the nett incomes flow into various places and departments, where they cannot be accurately estimated: some directly into the empress's own privy purse; for instance, the profits arising from the silver-mines of Kolhyvan and Nertschinsk, which belong to the crown; others go to the college of war, others again to the medical college, &c. 2. Many particular incomes (or which are properly regarded as such) are assigned in perpetuity instead of pay, therefore in some measure cannot be calculated, as not being carried to account not even in the high-treasurer's office; for instance, the beneficial fishery of the river Ural granted to the ural Kozaks. 3. Some consist in deliveries in kind, which are either not valued at all or charged at a very low price. Of this sort are the arende-corn* of the crown-lands, and the rations of corn and hay from all private and public estates; the latter is, indeed, compensated by the poll-

* Arendator, or arrendator, in Livonia, Esthonia, &c. is a farmer of the farms, that is, he contracts with the crown for the rents of the farms; crown-arrendator is one who rents an estate belonging to the crown. By the term arende is implied both the estate that is let out and the sum for which it is let. Arende-corn is corn paid as rent by admodiation.

tax *, but the crown has nevertheless considerable profit out of it. 4. Many provinces and districts; in lieu of all or some public taxes, perform certain services, which are never calculated among the revenues, but, by those who would give the real amount of them, must necessarily be considered as equivalent to money. Thus, all the Don-kozaks, with the various distinct branches of them, besides other immunities granted them, pay no public imposts whatever, but in return perform military service. The Tepterey, consisting of Tartars, Tschuvasches, and Tscherenisses, who in the province of Ufa are numbered at upwards of 30,000 heads, pay but a very trifling capitation tax; but they are in consideration of that, obliged to furnish the crown with carriages for the transport of the rock-salt of Iletzk †. At the mines of Kolhyvano-voskresensk 48,000 crown-boors execute certain works instead of their poll-tax; but neither their labour nor their head-money can be entered in the accounts of the high-trea-

* The occupier receives of the crown in the compensation for a tchetvert of rye, which in 1789 was worth more than 8 rubles, only two rubles, and must besides carry it sometimes 120 or 180 miles to Riga. How much would it cost the crown if it had to buy up the rye in the country, and convey it thither by hired carters?

† Pallas, travels, tom. i. p. 17.

furor's office as incomings. 5. Some tribes pay their tribute, at least partly, in furs or in hides. These latter are for the army-consumption, and therefore cannot be entered in any money-account. 6. Many incomings are subject to great fluctuations, such as the duties, the produce of the mines, &c. 7. With others, after deducting the costs and charges, which properly come under the head of expenditure, the bare profit is received, as at particular mine-works, the copper coinage, &c. but with others not: accordingly great uncertainty must arise in the calculation. 8. Certain products which the crown receives from its domains, as, marble and precious stones; also certain wrought goods for the army and navy, as, cannon-balls from the mineries, are not classed among the articles of income, though they certainly are of that nature. 9. Considerable savings, which in other countries cannot be made, ought to be regarded as income, for example, the low pay of the soldiers and sailors, with many other things and peculiarities of the same kind, which to avoid prolixity must be omitted*; which, however,

* Thus, only to bring one example, in the russian army there is no camp-bakery: every soldier is his own baker. A hole which he digs in the earth, having covered the bottom with a rush mat, serves him first for a kneading-trough, and then for his oven.

should

should be brought into account, or we shall be continually liable to mistake; and even could we get sight of all the accounts of the treasury, the mere inspection of the money paid in would never put us in condition to draw a comparison between the real revenues of Russia and those of other kingdoms.

We need not, therefore, be surprized that foreign writers have estimated the russian revenues either very erroneously, or extremely different one from another, and that we are to place no confidence in their statements. Some estimate them at not more than 10 millions, while others for the year 1788 make them amount to 18. Mr. Busching proceeds with great caution: he specifies the sources and the branches of the revenue; but in the former editions of his Geography, he states them in the year 1770 to have been only 16, and in the later editions he sets them down at 24 millions. This latter statement he supports on a very fallacious hypothesis: he says, because the national revenue during the reign of the empress Elizabeth amounted to 10 millions*, and the empress

* How would it be possible to admit this statement as accurate? the maintenance of the army and navy alone would require the whole of it, without mentioning the other great national

emprefs Catharine II. in the preamble to her ukase concerning the imperial lombard of the year 1786, declares that without burdening the people it is at present more than twice as much as when she ascended the throne *, he thinks himself authorised to set it down at 24 millions †. But, as we have already seen, the opinion, that in the first quarter of the present century they formed only 9 millions is erroneous, and therefore neither can the adduced 10 millions be properly used as a standard. — The Gotha-calendar of 1790 comes somewhat nearer the mark by stating them at about 35 millions: The like sum has been adopted by the author of

national expences. — Frederic II. in his posthumous works, tom. i. p. 57, estimates the revenue of Russia, so early as the reign of the empress Anna, at between 14 and 15 millions; which sum may be correct, by taking into account only the specie that flowed into the imperial coffers; but afterwards it is well known to have been greatly increased: how then could it have consisted of no more than 10 millions in the reign of Elizabeth?

* This the empress declares expressly, but without ascertaining how much the revenue amounted to on her accession to her throne. On this latter point the statistical problem turns.

† It almost seems as if Mr. Busching even had some scruple in estimating the sum so high.

the statistic Survey, at the same time making the just remark, that there are still extraordinary * revenues consisting of the gratuitous performance of services and delivery of products; that these are not included in the above sum, and that 10 millions in Russia will go much farther than 30 of equal value would in France. — Mr. Coxe is far more accurate than all those authors, in estimating the national revenue of Russia at 41,830,910 rubles, though even this sum does not reach to the full amount †.

Under some few of the former sovereigns it is impossible that the whole revenue should have consisted of no more than 9 or 10 millions, as it was not only sufficient for all the ordinary ex-

* Not for the sake of cavilling about words, but for solid reasons, the expression here seems not to be quite adequate.

† He adds, however, “ But it is difficult to conceive “ how the empress is able to maintain the magnificence of “ her court; the number of public institutions; the numerous buildings which are continually erecting at her expense (1); the liberality with which she encourages the “ arts and sciences; the purchases which she is continually “ making in every country in Europe, and the immense “ donations which she confers upon the most favoured of “ her subjects.” *Travels*, vol. iii. p. 347. 8vo. edit.

(1) In time of peace her majesty allots at least 200,000*l.* per annum for the purposes of building.

penditure,

penditure, but Peter I. Anna, and Elizabeth carried on expensive wars without incurring any national debt, and at the same time executed great public works which cost immense sums, of which we need only mention the Ladoga-canal and the docks and canals at Cronstadt. — But Catharine II. executed infinitely more costly undertakings, to which enormous sums were employed. What must have been her disbursements on account of wars, colonists, sumptuous buildings, the erection of new and the embellishment of old towns, in monuments, seminaries of education extended and increased, loan-banks, the salaries in the viceroyalties, donations of various kinds, and a thousand other particulars. Hence we may conclude, that the revenue for her establishments must have been far greater than formerly, or as the empress expressed it herself, more than twice as much. Indeed she remitted a great many duties or taxes, 47 of them at one time by an ukase of March 17, 1775, and afterwards 10 more by an ukase of June 28, 1777, consisting not of trifles, though even a small impost, when paid by numerous subjects of a large empire, amounts to a considerable sum; but several were of consequence, for instance, the tenths of all mines belonging to the subjects, together with the taxes on the forges, &c.;

&c.; the likewise abolished many of the antient farms, such as, that of the capture of sea-dogs on the Baikal, and even some of the monopolies enjoyed by the crown, for such were formerly among others certain articles of the commerce with China which were reserved entirely for the caravans of the crown, particularly all sorts of fine furs, but this entirely ceased by imperial command, and the trade was laid open. Yet on the other hand the imperial treasury was a gainer; for, only to particularize in some instances, the finances were increased, 1. from the acquisitions and conquests; 2. by the great extension and encouragement of commerce; 3. by curtailing the estates belonging to the bishops, the monasteries, and the churches, whereby the crown not only got a great number of boors, with large tracts of arable land and forests, but other lucrative matters, as, the salt-works near Irkutsk, which formerly belonged to the Voskresenskian-monastery, and certain merchants of the place; 4. by raising the obrok; 5. by rendering the poll-tax more general, which must now be paid by the provinces of the Baltic, of Little Russia, and the antient slobodes, which were formerly exempt; 6. by the new duties, in all of which a very considerable difference was observed; thus, for example, at Reval in

1768,

1768, they amounted only to 17,163 rubles 34½ kopeeks, but in 1787 to 190,198 rubles 56½ kopeeks; 7. by better regulation at the mines; thus we learn from an authentic statement, that from the mines of Kolhyvan in 1760 only 264 pood of silver containing 8 pood of pure gold were sent to Petersburg; whereas in 1779 there came 809 pood containing 24 pood of pure gold; 8. by reforms in regard to other imposts, &c.

It would be mere ostentation to pretend here to give a strictly accurate or even a satisfactory statement of the national revenue*; but we will state it more precisely than has hitherto been done by any foreigner; not indeed from archival accounts†, nor yet in hypothetical and conjectural

* Thus the treasurer, as the present receiver, in many provinces, has no right to force the people to pay their poll-tax in one entire sum, or to deliver it at stated times, but must receive it in whatever portions and at whatever times it is brought.

† No private person can expect to get summary extracts from all the chanceries that keep account of receipts, or from the treasurer's office. In many of the chanceries, though not in all, a great mystery is made of matters which every body might know without danger. Sometimes we meet with persons who communicate very good accounts, but not one who will tell any thing of his own chancery: whether

tural numbers, but from incontrovertible facts, as delivered by persons of undoubted veracity on the spot. The totals will be found in some cases to refute preconceived opinions, and in others to exceed expectation. — It will be necessary, first, to inquire from what sources the revenues flow. These are:

1. The HEAD-MONEY, to which the burghers, (but not merchants,) the *odnodvortzi*, all *russian* boors, and various other tribes are subject, and from which many, as the *Kozaks* of the *Don*, &c. are exempt. It is paid only by male heads, including babes and old men. The numbers found at one revision remain unaltered till the next, and must be paid by the community for those who in the interim die, elope, fall into poverty, are taken as recruits, &c. The amount of the tax is various according to station and country. For every male head it is commonly per annum for burghers 1 ruble 20 kopeeks,

whether from a conscientious regard of their oath, or from the apprehension of censure, or from being acquainted with certain maxims. The chief of a department is generally the most communicative; and a great number of particulars are most easily learnt by judiciously leading the conversation. Therefore, if we cannot produce authentic lists, we can deliver many things on testimony equally valid.

for *odnodvortzi* 1 ruble, and for all private-boors, and for many of those belonging to the crown 70 kopeeks. All are obliged to every ruble to make an addition of 2 kopeeks. But numbers who are either real boors, or are considered as such, pay far more, for instance those of the former *slobode* government of the Ukraine, according to the nature of their trade and immunities, some 120, some 100, some 70 kopeeks; those of *Ingria* 150, but those at the mine-works 170 kopeeks; and if I rightly understand one account, the agricultural-boors even 2 rubles. The boors allotted to the court-chancery, in the government of *Perme*, are obliged to pay still more, namely $2\frac{1}{2}$ rubles, which since 1783 has been increased by an additional ruble. (One might be almost led to imagine, that the head-money is here confounded with the *obrok*.) The common free people of *Livonia* and *Esthonia*, who are not burghers, pay likewise only 70 kopeeks. — Now, it is calculated that there are greatly above 11 millions of boors, and, including the burghers and *odnodvortzi*, upwards of 12 millions of taxable persons. If we average them at 72 kopeeks, it will be found to yield a large sum, though many of them pay their capitation-tax in services or labours instead of money. However, the crown suffers

suffers many losses by the running up of arrears, though all possible alleviations are made to the people in the collecting of the tax. Yet there are districts, nay whole governments, where arrears are utterly unknown*, but this will not properly apply to all places. — That many provinces and people who now pay the capitation-tax were formerly exempt from it has been already observed. Whether the *rasnotschintzi* are still free from it cannot here be determined. But some tribes instead of this tax pay a tribute in furs. — Formerly the head-money was sent to the college of war for the support of the army; some alteration has probably of late been introduced, and a part of it is employed otherwise, as the amount is now much higher than it was at that time.

2. The TAX UPON THE CAPITAL OF MERCHANTS, or, as it is sometimes called, the percentage. It was first introduced into the provinces of the Baltic in the year 1783. The merchant gives up the statement of his capital without compulsion or judicial examination, at his own discretion: but according to the amount of it his privileges and immunities in regard to

* In this number there may be comprehended people and nations who pay some kind of tribute, or perform service for it: some pay only 1 ruble.

commerce, to offices, and outward consideration, are regulated. Every one pays yearly one per cent. in return for which he and his children are exempt from the poll-tax. None can be a merchant unless he states himself to have a capital of 500 rubles; but there are many of them who inscribe themselves at 50,000, and even a great deal more, and consequently pay annually from 500 to 1000 rubles.

3. The DOMAIN-LANDS, the income arising from which it has already been mentioned, is very various; some pay arende-money; or with it, as in Livonia, likewise natural products, especially corn, which must be dealt out to the troops, or delivered into the crown-magazines. They principally consist in obrok, that is, a money-tax, which the crown-boors, as well as the agricultural boors now belonging to it, (unless, as in Livonia, they perform foccage service,) are obliged to pay yearly for each male head. In virtue of the ukases of January 20, 1765, and November 5, 1768, they paid, "besides the customary 7 grievniks, (i. e. 70 kopecks,) poll-tax for each and singular soul of the male sex, according to the numbers taken at the last revision, a duty (i. e. tax or obrok) annually of 2. rubles." But, on the 3d of May 1783 an order was published, that

" on

“on all imperial, court, and agricultural boors,
 “as well as on the odnodvortzi and other settlers,
 “which are at the disposal of the œconomy-directors, in lieu of the former 2 rubles;
 “the duty henceforward shall be raised to 3 rubles for each male soul, and the addition of 2 kopeeks on every ruble.” Some accounts enumerate upwards of $4\frac{1}{2}$ millions of crown and œconomy-boors, and upwards of 700,000 odnodvortzi. The sum, therefore, arising from the obrok may be easily calculated. It must not, however, be forgotten, that crown-boors are at times emancipated, or their duties assigned to the salary of governors, &c.

4. The SEA-DUTIES, which indeed depend on circumstances, and are liable to fluctuations; but are at present very considerable; whereof the three following sea-ports alone, by authentic summary accounts received from them, may serve as a proof. At Riga the duties paid in 1773 amounted to 541,509 rubles $22\frac{1}{2}$ kopeeks; but in the year 1786 they brought in 748,287 rubles $16\frac{1}{2}$ kopeeks. — At Reval the raised duties produced in the year 1768 only 17,163 rubles $34\frac{1}{2}$ kopeeks; in 1787 they came to 190,198 rubles $56\frac{1}{2}$ kopeeks, likewise 100 alberts-dollars and $77\frac{1}{2}$ kopeeks; in 1788 the duties were 167,236 rubles 13 kopeeks; but

in the year 1789, even 342,079 rubles $36\frac{1}{2}$ kopeeks; in which of the last-mentioned year were not comprised the 87 rubles $33\frac{1}{2}$ kopeeks that came into the tamojena (custom-house) as confiscation-money, nor the 6688 rubles $54\frac{1}{2}$ kopeeks that were raised for the support of the schools and the wharfs. — At Petersburg and Cronstadt, which two ports are to be considered only as one, being both under one custom-house, the duties paid in 1787 were almost 4 millions, namely, 3,910,006 rubles $17\frac{1}{2}$ kopeeks; whereas in the year 1788 upwards of 4 millions, viz. 4,035,743 rubles $22\frac{1}{4}$ kopeeks. In the 9 years from 1771 to 1780 exclusive, the comings-in at that custom-house, in dollars and russian money, were 16,642,205 rubles $32\frac{1}{4}$ kopeeks; but in the succeeding 9 years, namely from 1780 to 1789 exclusive, they were 28,023,482 rubles $45\frac{1}{2}$ kopeeks; consequently, the latter 9 years yielded a surplus of more than 11 millions. But, as the Superintendant Schemakin had farmed the petersburg duties, the sum paid by him for the contract for 9 years was only 13,655,257 rubles 12 kopeeks; accordingly the present duties in the last 9 years against the contract produce a difference of more than 14 millions. As the duties of only three sea-ports are here stated, it is easily conceivable

ceivable that of the whole empire it must amount annually to a very large sum; for here no notice is taken of the other ports of the Baltic, and not one of those of the other seas has been mentioned. Busching has not specified the amount, only saying, that a commission in the year 1764 found the duties at all the seaports and frontier-towns to be 3 millions. Those adduced of three seaports shew that those 3 millions form no adequate standard for a calculation of the whole at present.

5. The LAND-TOLLS, which, though not so considerable as the last-mentioned duties, are yet by no means totally insignificant; if we only consider the vicinity, and the trade by land with Courland, Poland, Turkey, China, Bukharia, the Kirghises, and other tribes. The orenburg-trade produced, as we already learn from Busching's geography, in the year 1751, tolls to the amount of 95,123 rubles. But from the trade with China the tolls at Kiachta on exports and imports in 1770 were 550,000 rubles; and in the two following years not much less*. A trade with China is likewise carried on at another place, viz. Old-Zuruchaitu, where the several tolls brought in only 500 rubles†.

* Pallas, travels, tom. iii. p. 154.

† Id. ib. p. 429.

6. The duties on LAW-PROCEEDINGS, commonly called *poschlin*; of which, to avoid prolixity, we shall only observe, that for every petition a duty is paid of about 25 kopeeks, with the same sum for sealing and for the final decision, but for a writ of appeal 6 rubles. — Here may be reckoned likewise the passport money.

7. STAMPED-PAPER, the annual consumption and amount whereof we are enabled to state from particular chanceries, but not for the whole empire. The price of it has lately been raised to double the sum it was formerly sold at, and the uses for which it is necessary more accurately ascertained. At present it brings in a considerable sum per annum*.

8. The duty, or *poschlin*, on the SALE OF IMMOVABLE PROPERTY, in which are included not only houses and lands but also vassals. This impost is of very antient date in Great-Russia, and consisted, if I mistake not, in 10 per cent. on the money arising from the sale, which must be given in and proved by the certificate of emption. It was afterwards lowered to 6 per cent. and in the year 1783 introduced both into the

* The cheapest sheets cost at present 10 (formerly 5) kopeeks; but for more important transactions, according to the nature of the business, several rubles.

provinces of the Baltic and those of Little-Russia. At length the empress in 1787 fixed it at 5 per cent. When sales are frequent, especially of large estates, this tax yields a considerable receipt to the coffers of the crown.

9. The KABAKS (tippling-houses,) or the sale of corn-spirits *. It has already been remarked, that though this be a monopoly of the crown, yet by virtue of antient rights and privileges not only all noblemen throughout the empire may distil brandy for their own domestic use †, but also whole provinces may deal in it and keep tippling-houses, for instance, the don and malo-

* Whoever farms the kabaks of the crown, is allowed to keep in them also beer, mead, &c. and this, with other trifling advantages, enables him to pay the crown for every vedro of brandy 3 rubles, and to sell it in the kabaks at the same price. Then it is lawful for every one, even the boor, to brew his own beer, without being subject to any excise; only he must not deal in it: though this is allowed to the livonian and esthonian towns, and landlords, and others.

† In Ingria the nobility were not permitted to distil as much as they pleased, but each a certain quantity according to his rank. Whether this be the same all over the empire, or whether perhaps by the new letter of grace granted to the nobility that limitation has been removed, is what I cannot determine; I shall only just remark, that every russian nobleman may sell brandy even to the crown, and therefore distil the quantity agreed for.

russian

russian Kozaks*, likewise the livonian and esthonian land-owners and towns†, as well as many others. The crown sells an incredible quantity of brandy, by which it gains large sums. We are told by Busching, that “the contract for the kabaks at Petersburg and Mosco, with the parts adjacent, while they were let out on farm ‡, brought in the yearly sum of 3,320,000 rubles.” These two were indeed always the largest and most populous towns, and the district of the moscovian government the most extensive: but if we add the many other

* Yet the crown has kabaks in Little-Russia. — Here it may be remarked, that inns or houses to put up at are not to be found in all parts, not even in all towns. In many places they are not at all known: travellers turn in at some boor’s or burgher’s house.

† That is, the livonian and esthonian towns are now, by an order of the senate, to have even crown kabaks, but their net profits are to be applied to the benefit of these towns and to defray their public expences. But, by an ukase of the senate, of the year 1790, the old regulations remain.

‡ All the kabaks are farmed out; but the contractor can neither distil the brandy himself, nor buy it at his own option, but must take from the crown the whole quantity stated in the contract, even though it should happen that few customers come to drink it. — Noblemen now begin to farm kabaks; but by a late ukase of the senate it is restricted to merchants, &c.

govern-

governments, Pskove, Novgorod, &c. it may easily be conceived that the crown draws annually between 8 and 9 millions from this source: which is also confirmed by persons well acquainted with the business. But a short illustration will put the matter out of all doubt. — From a resolution of the senate, of the year 1789, it appears, that the city of St. Petersburg, with the 7 circles of its government, consumes annually 583,126 vedros: of which the greater part was then already podrated (contracted) for at 148 kopeeks for every vedro; if they found persons who were willing to deliver the other quantities at the same price, which is extremely probable, then the crown, receiving 3 rubles on each vedro, gains annually 886,351 rubles 52 kopeeks for the brandy of that government alone*. — The

* In the years 1783 to 1786 the livonian noblemen delivered the vedro at 75 kopeeks; but from 1787 to 1790 at 90 kopeeks, whereby, on account of the high crown-prices, they suffered considerable loss. At that time therefore the crown gained on every vedro first 2 rubles 25 kopeeks, and then 2 rubles 10 kopeeks, as it was at no other expence than what it paid for the brandy by the terms of the contract. The seller must deliver it in the town agreed on; there the kabak-farmers receive it under the authority of the revenue-chamber, who cause it to be carried by hired people into hired houses, (both at their own expence,) pay the people who serve it at the kabaks, and even pay for the casks; and withal find it very profitable.

govern-

government of Pfcove consumes yearly, according to the declaration of the revenue-chamber there, in all 127,000 vedros, whereof 40,000 are disposed of in the city of Pfcove alone, but only 6000 in Petschur *. — The government of Perme consumed in the year 1783 in all 164,831 vedros, on which the crown had a net profit of 338,876 rubles 51 kopeeks. — The crown indeed takes a part of the brandy requisite for the kabaks from its own distilleries in Russia, but they are not yet in every place upon a beneficial footing †; it therefore finds at times a far surer profit, by engaging in contracts for deliveries, which is now done through the revenue-chamber, and always for 4 successive years. The contractor must give a security on his immovable property; and what he does not deliver at the stipulated time, is purchased on his account ‡. — As the crown sells the livonian fass,

or

* All the kabaks of the villages in the circle are here included. — On account of the vicinity the Livonians deliver their brandy there much cheaper than at Petersburg. But, as the crown every where gets 3 rubles for the vedro, it gains somewhat more in this government than elsewhere.

† This will be farther explained when we come to treat on commerce.

‡ He sometimes meets with indulgence; but must pay a penalty per cent. which however is more tolerable than if it were

or cask, of brandy for about 36 rubles, but which in Livonia, where the brandy is much stronger, is worth sometimes only from 7 to 12 rubles, the russian boors will run the risk of buying up the brandy secretly by a fass at a time in Livonia and Esthonia, and convey it by stealth into Russia. Against this shameful practice of smuggling very severe prohibitions have been

were bought on his account, for the crown pays him, if the contract be struck at 90 kopeeks, for the fass about 11 rubles in bank-assignments, which bear a depreciation of 10 to 14 per cent. below silver rubles; but sometimes the fass is bought on the market in Livonia for 15 to 22 rubles, which among others happened in the years 1789 and 1790. Moreover, the deliverer must provide for the transport, pay the crown leakage and portorage, furnish casks at a low stated price, and answer all risks till the delivery is complete. The brandy is held proof by the crown if it burns half away in copper (a copper skillet); whereas it must be delivered so strong from the livonian stilleries, that in silver somewhat at least above the half must burn away. Therefore the deliverer to 6 casks of brandy puts about 1 cask of water; but as the mixture must be made at his house, he pays likewise freight for the transport of the water, which, on every large vessel of 40 vedros, according to the distance and other circumstances, amounts to between 6 and 8 rubles. — The dealers reap a great advantage in the article of manure for their fields. If the Livonians were to send no brandy to Russia, from the great distilleries there, the price would fall very low, even in their own country.

issued,

issued, and inspectors are appointed at the several entrances to the towns, and the kabak-farmers themselves, for their own sakes, keep a sharp look out. In Livonia the nobility have entered into an association not only to amerce those who privily sell it to the russians in heavy penalties, but to deprive them of the right of distilling brandy, and from these fines pay a reward to the informer of 500 rubles. Hence it appears that this monopoly of the crown is not exactly to the taste of the common Russians, who are very fond of brandy, especially of the strong sort*: but it is said to be a difficult matter to find out another impost equally productive in its place; for if it were to be converted into a money-tax, it would seem oppressive, and occasion much loss to the crown by arrears. It is for this reason that the monopoly is continued, though it is attended with many difficulties to the officers of the crown.

10. The SALT-TRADE, of which several particulars have been occasionally mentioned; as that some districts and people, for instance, the uralian Kozaks, fetch their salt gratis from cer-

* Some common venders were accused of having adulterated the brandy in the kabaks, and then, to give it a poignancy, putting in it common pepper, &c. However this is strictly forbidden; and questmen are occasionally appointed to see that no frauds of this nature are committed.

tain lakes; while others, such as Livonia and Esthonia, buy it of foreigners; on which the crown only lays a duty. — The crown obtains its salt, with which it supplies the whole empire (whatever expence it is at for carriage) at 35 kopecks the pood*, partly from lakes, partly from salt-pans, and partly from salt-hills. — The rock-salt of the iletzkian hill costs the crown on the spot not quite one kopeck the pood. Formerly the Kozaks and Baschkirs cut here their salt at will; but, in the year 1754, the crown put it under better regulations. From 3 to 400,000 pood of it is annually brought away and distributed over the empire. It would in many respects be more advantageous if the use of it were farther extended. — In some places the salt stands the crown in 3 kopecks per pood on the spot†. But the transport is attended with great expence, and consumes much of the profit. For carriage from Ebeley to the province of Iletsk and the forts on the frontiers the crown paid till the year 1768 for every pood from 9 to 13 kopecks; at which time this mode of conveyance ceased. The salt is now fetched

* One statement speaks of 40 kopecks, which is a mistake.

† Pallas, travels, tom. iii. p. 292.

to the province of Iserik above 1000 versts from the lakes about the Irtysh, for which the carriage amounts to between 15 and 18 kopeeks the pood*. — In the government of Perme, at Solikamsk, at Ussoliye, and in Tschussloffkoi-Gorodok are salt-pans partly belonging to the crown and partly to private persons: to the latter the crown used to pay 8 kopeeks a pood for feeding; but, since the year 1786, they get for the ussolian salt $9\frac{1}{2}$, and for the solikamskian $10\frac{1}{2}$ kopeeks. For the transport to Nishnei-Novgorod, where the principal store is kept, the hired carriers are allowed 10 kopeeks; whence it is conveyed partly by water and partly by land. From its own pans the crown obtained in the year 1782 at Solikamsk 910,142 poods. But the whole quantity prepared there annually is 4 millions of poods. On all that was consumed in the government of Perme and carried thence elsewhere, the profits to the crown in 1782 amounted to 490,000 rubles. — But great quantities of salt are obtained by the crown† in other places from salt-lakes, &c. — At Staraiya-Russa it costs indeed

* Pallas, travels, tom. iii. p. 305.

† It has been affirmed that from the salt-lakes in the steppes of Baraba and Irtysh 1,400,000 pood of salt is annually obtained.

20 kopeeks the pood; but then it is disposed of in the neighbourhood at no great expence in carriage. — Hermann thinks that the Elton-saltlake and the salt-works at Perme together yield more than two thirds of the salt consumed in the whole empire. But this is hard to determine, at least it is doubtful, if not utterly improbable, because some districts fetch their salt themselves (whose consumption is not easily to be ascertained); others buy it of the foreigner; much rock-salt is consumed; in several places are salt-pans and lakes, which he seems to have entirely forgotten, for instance, the productive salt-lakes in Taurida; and lastly a good deal of smuggling may be practised. It would therefore be difficult to state how much the whole empire annually consumes. Hermann says * 12 millions of poods; but from the reasons which he assigns, it is manifest that this statement is not sufficient. — Busching is of opinion that the crown draws from the salt-works (whence it appears that the lake and rock-salt are included, but merely the net profit) annually not above 2 millions. This number seems to be just, unless we limit the yearly consumption to 12 millions of poods. Hereto must be added, that a great quantity of

* Hermann, Ertzgeb. tom. i. p. 74, and p. 143.

salt is exported from Taurida to other countries for the benefit of the crown, especially to the polish Ukraine and to Turkey.

11. The MINES. The most important of the mines belonging to the crown are those of Kolyvan or Barnaul, and those of the Argoon, or properly of Nertschinsk; both yield silver containing a proportion of gold; then follow the gold-works at Ekatarinenburg; and besides these several copper and iron-works. — It appears that at Kolyvan the annual produce has not always been alike; in the year 1772 it consisted in 1277 pood of silver, which was found to contain 50 pood of pure gold: the value whereof in coin was 1,769,902 rubles. At times the produce is far short of this. — The mines at Nertschinsk are reckoned to yield annually from 200 to 400 pood of silver ore, from which 1000 pound and about $12\frac{1}{2}$ pound of gold are obtained. At Ekatarinenburg from 5 to 7 pood of gold-dust may be hammered into bars every year; but in 1782 its net produce was no more than 22,143 rubles 15 kopeeks; yet the profit from 1754 to 1786 was in all 1,341,352 rubles 68 kopeeks. — From all the ores of Altay, from 1745 to 1780 were separated in all 686 pood, 16 pound, 49 folotniks of pure gold. — The copper and iron
mines

mines likewise bring the crown a great income: in the government of Perme in 1782 the copper yielded a profit of 341,676 rubles; and the iron 228,699 rubles $73\frac{1}{2}$ kopecks. Besides these it has iron forges in the governments of Tambof and Olonetz. — The mines produce not only metals but various kinds of stones, as marble, smoky topazes, amethysts, agates, mountain-crystals, jasper, granite with veins of coloured quartz, &c. which are disposed of by the crown either polished or unpolished; likewise alum, vitriol, &c.* — The late empress having by ukases of grace relinquished her imperialties on the private mines, namely, the tenths of the copper and iron, the silver and the gold, and likewise remitted the taxes on forges at the works, the crown now raises no revenue from them, excepting from the copper which is delivered to the mint at a reasonable price.

As the state of the mines can be but little known from other writers, a farther account of them here, as I have it from good authorities, may be acceptable to many of my readers. It is true that Busching has mentioned the amount

* From all which it appears that they who make the yearly product of the mines only 500,000 rubles, are very far short of the mark.

of the silver ore obtained from them between the year 1704 when they were first discovered, and 1772, likewise of the year 1779; yet I add from an authentic list eleven years to these: and it is to be observed that these statements are of far greater compass than the former*. It must in the first place be remarked, that the mines of Barnaul or Kolyvan are much more productive than those of Nertschinsk: for the pits hitherto opened in the latter have no continued or steady veins, are never powerful, and seldom terminate in large nests, are always poorer as they proceed in depth, and change their contents at every fathom. Yet new but always poor veins are frequently discovered; consequently the amount of the silver obtained is not every year alike, and can never, with any certainty, be previously estimated to what it may arise. — The silver is not of like kind, and not so abundant in gold, as that of Barnaul; the solotnik is only reckoned at $19\frac{1}{2}$ kopeeks, whereas the solotnik of gold is valued at 2 rubles 50 kopeeks. The former must stand the test of 90 to 93. The gold is

* Hence it is particularly seen, how abundant the ore is, and how much gold adheres to it. — The bank purchased these mines in 1792 for 2 millions of rubles, to be paid in 10 years by annual instalments of 200,000 rubles.

separated

separated from it at the laboratory of St. Petersburg. — The crown allows for all expences of the silver mines of Nertschinsk, including the maintenance of the battalion, the annual sum of 200,000 rubles; which is sometimes, but not every year, entirely consumed. What is obtained above this sum, is called net profit. This seldom amounts to less than 100,000 rubles, usually more. Sometimes a greater quantity of silver is smelted from the ore, and yet an inferior net profit is obtained; as when a scarcity of provisions or other considerable expences carry away the whole sum of the allotted 200,000 rubles. — The following table exhibits the produce:

Years	Silver ore smelted.	Thence obtained pure silver.				Wherein was pure gold.			
	Pood.	Pood.	lb.	Solot ⁿ	Parts.	Pood.	lb.	Solot ⁿ	Parts.
1775	2,165,600	500	8	41	35	2	4	19	72
1776	1,682,706	382	11	64	39	1	8	57	69
1777	1,377,797	303	12	—	69	1	17	35	82
1778	1,981,869	353	16	53	72	2	8	23	11
1779	1,605,802	317	29	54	84	1	10	8	85
1780	1,926,012	415	39	44	43	1	8	88	36
1781	1,597,273	368	27	57	67	1	9	56	6
1782	1,919,080	423	21	77	88	1	18	8	63
1783	1,831,535	441	10	79	70	—	39	86	1
1784	1,858,456	422	1	50	70	1	25	3	37
1785	1,333,406	265	29	42	73	1	7	73	35

Of the above *parts* 96 make a solotnik.

Busching says, in the year 1779 were procured of ore 380 pood, 33 pound, 51 solotniks. His statement that 1000 pound of it contained about 12½ pound of gold, is here shewn to be wrong.

Mr. Storch, well known for his statistical accuracy, thinks it may be admitted with the highest degree of probability, that at present every year in the russian empire is produced of

Gold about	40 pood
Silver	1300
Lead	30,000
Copper	200,000
Iron	5,000,000
Salt	12,000,000

with a quantity of mineral products, which, in money, by the most moderate computation, may be stated at 13 millions of rubles; and by adding the precious stones, sulphur, vitriol, &c. considering the present prices, cannot be less than 15 millions of rubles.

From this produce the net gain, after deducting all expences or charges, amounted in

1775	in all to	253,028 rubles	72½ kopeeks
1776	—	158,896	— 74½
1777	—	118,093	— 28¼
1778	—	109,021	— 90⅝
1779	—	106,305	— 49
1780	—	119,306	— 96¼
1781	—	86,159	— 14¾
1782	—	100,848	— 12⅜
1783	—	142,204	— 27⅙
1784	—	122,460	— 25⅓
1785	—	29,872	— 41

12. The MINT, of which an account must reasonably be expected here, yet only so far as it stands related to the national revenue; the other remarks belong not to this place, but to the article of commerce, where a statement will be given of the various coins, and their value in circulation. — The russian monies consist of gold, silver, copper, and bank assignations. These last, as a great convenience to commerce, and facilitate the remittances throughout the country, supply the place of copper, require here no very nice description, because there is always supposed to be as much copper-coin in the bank as that every one immediately on application may receive it in exchange for the paper he brings, and in circulation bear their full value as hard copper *. They therefore cannot properly be reckoned among the ordinary sources of national revenue, though from them an advantage may accrue to the crown, as, among other ways, when these notes are accidentally burnt or otherwise destroyed: yet also a loss may ensue

* The copper specie is commonly about 10 per cent, and sometimes more inferior in value to silver or gold in commercial and other payments; the assignations bear therefore the same value. Some even require an *agio* when they give copper money for assignations, but this is forbidden by *ukase*. — In many countries the paper money is a lucrative operation of finance.

on occasion of them, as when persons are so fearless of the laws and so dishonest as to forge them and bring their spurious notes into circulation. — Of the copper coinage Busching says, there is a yearly profit of 2 millions upon it. This sum may perhaps be rated too high, at least according to Hermann's account*, who sets it down for the year 1779 at only 818,165 rubles 98 kopeeks; and in another place he mentions that the crown, at the mint of Ekatarinenburg, where the copper is coined, gained in 1782, after deducting all expences of coinage, a clear profit of 765,582 rubles 70 kopeeks. Indeed at times great sums pass through the mint at that place, many years to the amount of 3 millions, and then the profit may arise to 2 millions; but in the years 1786 and 1787, from a want of water, the sum did not much exceed $1\frac{1}{2}$ millions, and in the year 1783 it was still less†. The pood of copper costs the crown, from its own founderies, about 5 rubles; but when it is obliged to purchase the same, 9 rubles; the private founderies must all deliver the half of their copper to the mint, at the rate of 5 rubles 50 kopeeks the pood; but the pood of

* See Ural-ertzgeb. tom. ii. p. 104.

† See Hermann's Ertzgeb. tom. ii. p. 99 & sq. and tom. iii. p. 363 & sq.

copper is coined into 16 rubles; if we deduct from this the waste in the coinage, the wages of workmen, and the expence of transport, the remainder is pure profit. Formerly the mine-owners were obliged to deliver two thirds of their copper at the mint, which afterwards was lowered to the half. Some are of opinion, that these deliveries ceased with the other imperialties which the empress relinquished by her ukase of grace: but this seems to be an error arising from a misconception of the matter; for the ukase of the 28th of June 1786 expressly says in the 28th article: "Whoever shall hence-
 " forward, besides the actual produce of his
 " copper-works, obtain a fresh increase from
 " them, or shall open a new mine, shall, for this
 " copper gained above the stated quantity, be
 " freed from the obligation of delivering the
 " half of that metal at 5 rubles 50 kopeeks into
 " the caisse, and at the same time be at liberty
 " to deliver it, on such terms as he can agree
 " to, to our assignation-bank, and either to sell
 " it or to carry on any lawful trade with it
 " that he finds most profitable *." — Not only
 russian

* By an ukase of the 23d of June 1794, all copper-works belonging to individuals, which are set up with the assistance of the crown-caisse, or have received land, forests, or
 boors

russian gold and silver are coined, but also foreign, which the crown either buys or obtains by commerce and the customs. Thus, the chinese commerce brings silver into the empire at 16 rubles the pound *. The customs at Riga, which must be paid in Alberts-dollars †, yield the crown a considerable quantity of silver for the mint. That this metal is likewise brought to St. Petersburg appears from authentic documents. According to one of these there came to that city in the year 1788 :

	NUMBER.	WEIGHT.			VALUE.	
		Pood.	lb.	Solot-niks.	Rubles.	Kop ^s
GOLD:						
Ingots - - -	2	—	18	—	6428	—
Ducats - - -	3200	—	31	90	9650	—
SILVER:						
Bars - - -	29	24	36	—	24,010	—
Dollars - - -	211,250	357	21	91	320,117	50
Total					360,205	50

boors from the crown, must pay, over and above the former tenths, ten pood out of every hundred.

* Pallas, travels, tom. iii. p. 145. — This is the price of silver in Russia; the silversmiths, however, now pay somewhat more for it.

† The Alberts-dollars that come into the custom-house there are immediately cut into two and sent to the mint at Petersburg.

The

The crown has sometimes found great advantage in the purchase of silver from abroad * ; but in general the coinage of silver and gold forms a part of the national revenue.

13. NATURAL PRODUCTS, in which taxes and tribute are paid, the true amount whereof can never be accurately ascertained. Thus Livonia is bound to deliver for every haak a stated

* The following anecdote from the mouth of an imperial minister may serve as an illustration of what is here advanced. When the emperor Peter III. was about to undertake the expedition which he had resolved to make against Denmark with an army of 80,000 men, whereof count Romantzof was to form the avant-guard with a body of 20,000, he endeavoured not only to enter into a treaty with certain courts concerning the proper requisites, &c; but caused also a remittance of 10 millions of rubles to defray the first expences of the campaign. The remittance of these sums could not be done without loss. By the well-known events which presently after happened, the expedition fell to the ground; and then arose the question, how best to draw back the money without additional losses, and that at once, at least so as that no exceeding long term might intervene? A very respectable minister, then in office, consulted on the subject with Mr. William Gomm, an english merchant at St. Petersburg, and court-banker, who recommended secrecy, and drew up a plan, in which all mention of recalling the money was studiously avoided, but a commission was given at various places to buy gold and silver in bars to that amount; by which a considerable gain ensued.

quantity

quantity of rye, barley, oats, and hay, for money indeed, but for a low fixed price, and at whatever place the stewardry of provisions is pleased to appoint *: Esthonia pays in rye and barley. — Some tribes send hides and furs into the imperial treasury. Thus, the Vogules deliver a certain number of elk-skins †; some pay fables in natura ‡; some tartars pay tribute in martens or other furs, as those on the river Tschulym §. Of the Tunguses it appears, that about the year 1770 money has been taken instead of such tributes ||. Tributes in kind, in many districts, as in those of Krasnoyarsk, are still ascertained by fables, though no longer headwise, but of whole stems collectively; also not always in fables, but generally in other furs, even in hides of large deer and elks, which

* Sometimes meal is required instead of rye, and grist instead of barley, whereby a loss is apt to arise, and the receiver may have an opportunity for finding fault. But the case is hardest when the delivery, particularly of the hay, is required to be made at very distant places. — However, in return for these hardships, in Livonia and Esthonia they are exempt from the furnishing of recruits. — The livonian arende-estates belonging to the crown deliver corn gratis.

† Pallas, travels, tom. ii. p. 258, and Hermann's Beytrag. tom. iii. p. 143.

‡ Hermann, ib. p. 235.

§ Pallas, travels, tom. ii.

p. 319 and 663.

|| Id. ib. p. 241. & sq.

the

the caisse admits at 60 to 120 kopeeks a piece for the use of the cavalry. Much tribute is paid in money, and then the fable is reckoned at a ruble *. Thus the Sagayans (Tartars) on the banks of the Abakan, pay for each bow 3 rubles †. — In regard to all such tributes the late empress granted a great alleviation by ordering the acceptance of other furs more easily obtained, and at the same time secured the tributaries from the vexations formerly exercised by the receivers; of which something farther will be mentioned hereafter.

14. The share of EXCISE AND RECOGNITION DUTIES in towns, but which amount to no great sums, and are not raised by far in all towns.

15. The POSTS, which only yield a net profit in some provinces where the maintenance occasions no expence to the crown. — In Livonia and Esthonia the owners of estates are obliged to keep all the post-houses; the crown, therefore, in the year 1786 raised a revenue of about 66,000 rubles from the post-office at Riga: — whereas the support of the post-houses ‡ in Ingria costs it a pretty large sum.

* The Vogules in the government of Perme pay, if I rightly recollect, 2 rubles in lieu of the fables.

† Pallas, travels, tom. iii. p. 12 and 348.

‡ I believe latterly some alteration was made in this respect.

16. All kinds of RENT for places, shops, mills, parcels of ground, bee-hives in forests, bathing-houses, fisheries, public inns, &c.* Particularly a good deal of land which the crown cannot occupy is let on lease as fields or meadows, by *desëttines*, for a trifle indeed, but from the great quantity, amounting to a good sum upon the whole.

17. RECRUIT-MONEY from merchants: these were obliged formerly to furnish recruits, but now they pay for each recruit 500 rubles to the imperial *caisse*. From 100,000 merchants this amounts at every levy to a considerable sum. — Foreign merchants are exempt from it.

18. Various PECUNIARY PENALTIES, such as, for harbouring or concealing deserters, for distilling brandy contrary to law, for selling brandy or salt contrary to law, for neglect of duty, (on which occasions a part of the officers' pay is deducted,) for keeping accounts in arrears, &c.

* Some of these contracts have indeed been discontinued, as the capture of sea-dogs in the Baikal; but others continue, as appears from the several *ukases* and the revenue-accounts. Concerning some I have my doubts, as several may perhaps have been abolished latterly, as the tenth of the *marienglas* at *Udinsk*; likewise the 10 rubles for every iron foundry, and on smithies in *Yeniseisk*. See *Pallas*, travels, tom. iii. p. 95 and 309.

Yet

Yet in such cases none are proceeded against with extreme severity.

What few remaining sources of revenue there may be will be found in some respects at least reducible to one or other of the foregoing denominations.

The national revenue then at present amounts annually to about as follows:

	Rubles.
Tax on capital of 107,264 merchants, of whom though many pay only 5 rubles per annum, yet almost as many pay 10, or 50 to 100, and some even 1000 rubles; pay only - - - - -	1,300,000
Poll-tax on 247,604 burghers, at 120 kopeeks - - - - -	297,000
Poll-tax on 11,205,077 boors belonging to the crown and to private individuals, who, for the most part, pay 70 kopeeks, a few somewhat less, but many far more; on account of arrears, &c. pay only. - - - - -	7,000,000
Poll-tax on 774,067 odnodvortzi, at 1 ruble; some pay more, but others nothing at all - - - - -	700,000
Obrok on these odnodvortzi, at 3 rubles - - - - -	2,300,000
	Obrok

Obrok on 4,568,166 crown and economy-boors, at 3 rubles; yet because some contribute less, or perform work instead, or remain in debt, &c. only - - - - -	Rubles. 9,000,000
Addition to the poll-tax and obrok, on each ruble 2 kopeeks - - -	380,000
Customs at all the sea-ports, about	8,000,000
Land-duties I reckon only at * -	800,000
From kabaks and public-houses -	8,500,000
From the sale of salt - - - - -	2,000,000
From the crown-mines about - - -	1,800,000
From the mint - - - - -	2,000,000
From stamped paper, perhaps - -	600,000
Pöschlin on the sale of immovable property, likewise on proceedings at law, with seal-money, as also for preparing of patents, at least	800,000
Excise and recognition-duties, fun- dries arising from premiums for contracts, rents, recruiting, and forfeitures - - - - -	600,000
From Livonia and Esthonia, from the crown-estates, in arende-corn,	

* When the trade with China is in good progress, as with other neighbouring countries, it amounts much higher, probably to 2 millions.

and

and specie, likewise profit on payments in natural products from private and public estates, as also in revenues from the post-houses	Rubles.	200,000
From families and kibitkies of Kal-mucs, from Tartars of Taurida, &c. * - - - - -		100,000

Besides many other receipts, particularly in natural products, which are not here specified. Accordingly we have now a result of upwards of 46 millions; though appearances give room to suppose that the receipts are not estimated to their full amount †. But allowing that several articles produce rather less, yet there remains exceedingly more than foreigners (generally from conjectures without foundation or knowledge of the matter) have hitherto stated. That the revenues cannot amount to much less, is manifest from the incontrovertible facts which have been adduced; however, *ex abundanti*, it may be illustrated by an instance taken from another point of view. To this end let us select three governments which are not among the largest either as to superficial contents or to the num-

* The tribute in furs paid by sundry nations I comprehend under the poll-tax and obrok.

† On making a calculation some time ago with an intelligent man, we brought the produce to upwards of 48 millions, though every particular was very moderately rated.

ber of their inhabitants, namely, those of Reval, Riga, and Perme. In the two first are found neither of the productive monopolies of the crown, viz. the sale of brandy and salt, nor mines; and besides they are the smallest in the whole empire. But the government of Riga in the year 1785 brought in above $1\frac{1}{2}$ millions, and that of Reval, being the least, in 1787 about 300,000 rubles. From that of Perme the receipts are at present calculated to be above $3\frac{1}{2}$ millions. Now consider the number, the dimensions, and the revenues of the other governments *.

The national revenue, therefore, far exceeds that of most other countries in Europe, and is amply sufficient not only to answer all the expences of government, but also to afford considerable sums for the benefit and embellishment of the empire, though the late empress remitted many taxes and abolished several monopolies. With the farther increase of commerce it will naturally keep equal pace. — But if we take into the account the military service performed by some nations, among others of the Don-kozaks and their numerous branches, or the great

* Here might, perhaps, be a proper place to subjoin some farther observations on the public burdens or taxes; this will be done afterwards if room can be spared for that purpose.

savings* arising from the nature of the government and the habits of the people, and regard them, as we properly may, as part of the revenue, we shall find the amount to be greater by some millions.

The national expenditure ought reasonably now to be set against the receipts, and both compared together; but to this I find myself not competent, and must, therefore, make a few brief remarks suffice. — In general it may be affirmed, that in drawing a comparison between Russia and other European nations it exhibits a striking difference in regard to national expences†. What in other countries demands enormous sums, can sometimes in Russia be accomplished at much less than the half: only

* Among these are not only the small pay of the soldiers and sailors, but also many other particulars. Thus, the whole of the vast multitude of the uralian Kozaks, for all their military services on the frontiers of that side of the empire, &c. receive of the crown no more than an annual pay of 5000 rubles, and a few presents when they bring fish to Petersburg: in return, the abundant fishery in the river Ural is granted to them, (for which some merchants are said to have offered to take by contract at the sum of 200,000 rubles,) by means of which they are enabled to pass their days in idleness, jollity, and luxury, and think themselves richly paid.

† One of the first is, that, for instance, in some countries, where the national income is very great, the major part of it goes to pay the interest of the national debt.

compare the many great fortresses in France, or the pay of sailors in England and Holland, with those in Russia, where the cheapness of provisions and other necessaries, the multiplicity of the products, the low pay, the services to be performed without wages, and several other things occasion very considerable savings. — However it must be observed on the other hand, that the present national expenditure in Russia is widely different from what it formerly was: to convince us of this we need only turn our eyes to the numerous fleets, the augmentations of the army, the many sumptuous establishments, the embellishments of the residence, the erection and support of a great number of new towns, the beneficial endowments, the salaries of the officers in the provincial governments, and a thousand other things, in comparison of the expences of the imperial treasury in former reigns. It is not therefore surprising that new sources of revenue were necessary for meeting these expences. How many millions have been spent upon the colonists! What sums are now required by the numerous places of education, cadet-corps, schools, the making of new roads, for instance that from Petersburg to Mosco, &c. Even the ministers at foreign courts are increased in number; and how many consuls did Catharine II. keep in several places where formerly there were none!

The

The pensions, likewise, at present * require more than formerly, as there are two new orders of knighthood instituted who receive them. — From this cursory view it appears, indeed, that the national expences must be very great, but the actual amount of them cannot be accurately given by any private individual, probably not even by the high-treasurer of the empire †.

That the erection and support of the governments, on account of the great number of officers on stipends, must occasion to the crown an annual expence of some millions, of which nothing was heretofore known, needs not to be insisted on. It may be illustrated by an example drawn from the five following governments. That of St. Petersburg, including the military commands, costs annually 144,450 rubles; that of Vyborg 113,663; that of Reval about 108,000; that of Riga in alberts-dollars and russian coin

* Even in the pensions there are certain savings in Russia. It often happens that superannuated officers request, instead of a pension, to be placed in some garrison, where, though with less pay, they live at greater ease and at a much smaller expence. Others obtain, in lieu of a pension, a piece of crown land on paying the arende. Others again are allowed an annual present out of the revenues arising from the œconomy-boors.

† There are national expences which are never publicly known, at least are never named in the estimates according to their application to particular views of government. Sums that occasionally pass through the hands of a foreign minister, &c.

together about 168,000; and that of Perme 161,947 rubles. — For the army establishment, according to the declaration of a late member of the college of war, about the year 1764, was near upon 9 millions; the commissaries of provision received 2,300,000 rubles: whether this sum be still sufficient, as the army is much increased, I cannot say, but probably it is, because by the new regulations many expences are avoided. — But that the sum formerly allotted to the marine of 1,200,000 cannot now in any degree suffice, is manifest from the brief representation already given.

It is certain that the expences of various kinds would be remarkably diminished, (and the receipts at the same time be increased,) if all the people in office would faithfully manage the sums that pass through their hands as their duty requires. Formerly the crown was subject to great losses (as is the case more or less in all countries) by negligence* and likewise by fraud†. — So likewise would the national revenue

* Thus, hay is sometimes bought at a high price on the crown's account; and, not being wanted for immediate use, is suffered to lie exposed to the weather till it is entirely spoilt. So it frequently fares with the deliveries of meal in mat-sacks.

† One instance may serve out of ten thousand. An officer (by birth a German) had a large magazine under his care, which brought him in considerable profit. Being called

venue be greater in itself if certain defects and disadvantages could be entirely avoided. For, not to mention the great arrears in the obrok and poll-tax, or in other matters, both the sea and land customs suffer a considerable defalcation by smuggling, which, in spite of all precautions hitherto employed, flourishes here as much, at least, as in other countries. In the mean time the great number of frontier-surveyors and frontier-riders appointed for the suppression of it cost the imperial treasury considerable sums. — It has sometimes formerly happened, that either merchants or persons in office,

called to town to deliver his accounts, on the journey the public-house where he had put up for the night took fire (who set it on fire need not be mentioned). He proved the burning of the house, lamented that his books were all burnt in it, and was dismissed without farther process. — In the seven-years-war a contractor, who was bargaining with a general for a delivery of meal, demanded by far too high a price. On being chid for having the assurance to ask so exorbitantly, excused himself by saying, that he could reckon on but a very moderate profit, as he must make a number of presents before he could hope to touch the money; first to get the contract approved and signed; then that no fault should be found with the meal on its delivery; next to get the proper receipt for it; afterwards to obtain an order for payment; and, lastly, to procure the money without tiresome delays and evasions. It was said that such transactions latterly became less frequent.

by their manner of proceeding, or by accident, have interrupted the trade with some of the neighbouring nations, and thereby brought a sensible detriment to the customs; and indeed to several provinces. — However, during the reign of her late majesty several former diminutions of the revenue were checked by prudent measures, and at the same time the amount very much increased. One method was by putting a stop to the practice of farming out the duties, &c.

Concerning the national debt mistakes are also gone abroad. Some authors have estimated it at 40 millions of rubles; but this statement is erroneous. Busching gives it accurately from a manifesto of June 28, 1786, in which the empress says, that by wars, by the augmentation of the forces by sea and land, as well as by costly undertakings to the incalculable benefit of the empire, an expence has been already incurred to the amount of six millions six hundred thousand rubles. Which debt was to be liquidated in the middle of the year 1795*. When this is compared with the formidable national debt in other countries of Europe, and at the same time regard is had to the large revenues of Russia, it is evidently a mere trifle.

* Not by new taxes, as in many other countries, but by the surplusses arising from the ordinary national revenues.

V I E W
OF THE
R U S S I A N E M P I R E .

B O O K V I I I .

THE IMPERIAL COLLEGES.

TO facilitate our view of these objects, and to discriminate them more effectually from each other, I shall follow the method hitherto pursued by dividing them under separate heads.

S E C T I O N I .

Preliminary Remarks.

THE administration of so large a government demands not only courts, but that some of them, according to the circuit of their cognizance and affairs, should be endowed with considerable authority, and at the same time display a suitable
dignity

dignity and splendor. However, an imperial college by no means resembles a parliament, having authority, or at least which might venture, to set aside the edicts it received, and delay their execution. Indeed, as has been already shewn, by the decree of Peter I. and the regulations adopted by the late empress, if, on the emission of any command or law, they wish to submit some weighty points for consideration by way of remonstrance, it is permitted them to do so, and to defer the execution till the final resolution be obtained; when, if the command be repeated, no farther delay ensues.

Most of the imperial colleges, as will readily be supposed, are in the residence, in the vicinity, and as it were under the eye of the sovereign; many of them, however, have their several distinct departments at Mosco, and some have even their principal session there: either because that capital was formerly also the residence, and therefore still enjoys some privileges; or as being thought more convenient for the dispatch of particular affairs. — Moreover, the imperial colleges are of two kinds, some being co-ordinate with each other, and others subordinate. In their halls of assembly at the upper end of the table stands a chair of state under a canopy for the sovereign, as a sensible token of that authority presiding

presiding there, a constant suggestion to the assembled members, and a magnificence exciting awe *. The members of the colleges sit at the sides of the tables, as does the president likewise. — In the imperial colleges is a procureur, or upper-procureur, but in the senate a general procureur. The procureur sits in one corner of the hall; in another the secretary or upper secretary: neither of whom have properly any voice in the transactions †; but the former must observe that nothing is done contrary to law, and therefore it is his business to remind the assembly during their consultations of the particular laws that relate to the matter before them as occasion may require.

* In all the inferior courts a triangular figure of brass surmounted with an imperial crown is placed upon the table, of the same nature with the mace belonging to bodies corporate in England, as a symbol of the authority by which the sittings are held. On the three faces of this triangle are inscribed the statutes of Peter I. concerning judges and parties. Whoever behaves disrespectfully or improperly before this figure, is considered as having behaved so in presence of the sovereign.

† In the lower courts, where new judges are chosen every three years, the secretary must present the members of the court with the laws that serve to the decision of the cases that come before them. This, together with long experience, &c. may give him at times a certain degree of influence, and that even in superior courts.

No

No sentence is valid, or can be sent abroad without his signature. If the procureur, e. g. in the senate, perceives some contrary reasons, he represents them to the department; if they prove of no avail, he delivers them to the general procureur, who may, if he please, lay the matter before the assembled senate. — Belonging to all the colleges are not only a great number of chancery-officers, as secretaries, archivists, cancellerists, writers, &c. as there is a prodigious deal of writing* ; but every one of the superior has its own printing-office, as well as its physicians in ordinary.

Peter the great is allowed on all hands to have accomplished much; but it was not possible for him to introduce every thing at once. Under his successors in many respects but little was done: perhaps likewise abuses might creep in by the undue exercise of power by a particular college, or the usurpations or the negligence of some persons who had arrived at the summit of conse-

* In no other country in the world perhaps are the offices even of the inferior courts, so thronged with clerks, and no where is there so much writing as in Russia. — Nevertheless it is pretended that formerly in every chancery an adequate regularity did not always prevail. — On urgent occasions, after making strict search for papers, plans, ad-measurements, and a thousand other things, they could not be found in their proper places.

quence*. This it was that suggested to Catharine II. the necessity for making many alterations, and for adopting new regulations. — Likewise by the introduction of the provincial governments several of the former colleges became less necessary, and others quite superfluous; accordingly some have entirely ceased to act; others are only employed about long-depending causes; of many the public knows not whether they are continued or abolished, or whether they have undergone any changes: therefore no accurate account can now be given of them†. — In general it is not to be expected that I should deliver a circumstantial description of every college, its members, its concerns, &c. but such brief accounts as the nature of the work allows, will be found in the following sections.

* One instance happened under the empress Elizabeth, which excited great attention in regard to the city of Irkutsk, on which occasion a very upright governor was made a sacrifice.

† It is not therefore to be wondered at that Busching speaks doubtfully of various colleges, without ascertaining whether they be abolished or still in being. — In like manner I mention some that existed formerly and are now abolished, but several doubtfully, for want of being able to obtain satisfactory accounts. Therefore, it will not justly be imputed to negligence, if each college does not appear exactly in its right place, or if some comptoirs are entirely passed over.

SECTION II.

The Council and the Cabinet.

IN common language neither of them are reckoned among the imperial colleges; yet in many respects they may be considered as such. Both of them met in the palace, depended upon the empress, acted under her eyes, received immediately her orders, and were in a manner the places where all things were originally submitted to her decision and published as her decrees.

During the reign of P  ter I. neither of them were known: all orders were then issued from the senate, as the supreme college of the empire, where he was frequently present and personally presided. The empresses Catharine I. and Anna departed from this practice: they erected a cabinet, consisting, under their presidency, of the two chancellors, and perhaps a couple of cabinet-ministers; and hence the imperial commands were dispatched to the senate*, which was still necessary to be done. This was altered again

* It seemed to lose somewhat by this, as having now no share in the promulgation of decrees, and consequently no longer represented the true imperial privy-council.

by the empress Elizabeth, as she always was sedulous to retain every regulation that had been made by her father: she removed the cabinet; and, by a manifesto, Dec. 12, 1741, restored to the senate that consequence which it had had in the reign of Peter I.

The empress Catharine II. on her ascending the throne saw very weighty reasons for giving a quite different conformation to the senate, and also thought it for the advantage of government to erect a council and a cabinet.

The COUNCIL was styled in rufs, her imperial majesty's council. It was composed of the principal officers and persons of the empire, namely, of general feldt-marshals; generals in chief, senators, and actual privy-counsellors; at present they are fourteen in number; the fifteenth fills the place of a chancery-director, and has a secretary under him. The vice-chancellor of the empire is a member of this council (the post of grand-chancellor is sometimes, as at present, vacant).

The CABINET, to which belongs the care of the sovereign's private affairs or concerns, as likewise the reception of petitions, consists generally of ten persons, the high steward of the household, privy-counsellors, major-generals, and
state-

state-counsellors, with their several subordinate officers and chanceries. It also examines dispatches, passes accounts, &c. takes cognizance of the produce of silver-mines, &c. — Whoever is not satisfied with a decision of the senate, may appeal by petition to the cabinet; and in this respect it does the office of a supreme tribunal, in which the sovereign in person decides.

In extraordinary cases it sometimes happens that a special high court of justice is appointed, not subordinate to the senate but immediately under the sovereign. The presidents are usually taken from the imperial colleges and other eminent stations, and likewise from among the members of the synod*. Where the alleged offence is of an extremely heinous nature†, the examination is first made by particular persons appointed for that purpose, and the protocol is laid before the commissioners for their judgment. We have seen occasionally a commission appointed for causing plans to be drawn up of important institutions in contemplation, as that, among others, which the late empress called

* Only as spiritual persons they never put their hand to a sentence of death.

† Such, for example, as were those of Mirovitch and Pugatshof.

together

together some years ago to consider on the state of the mines. On such and various other occasions the appointment of a commission seems highly necessary*.

SECTION III.

The two supreme Imperial Colleges.

IN common acceptation there is but one; namely, the directing senate, as that which issues its orders to all the other colleges and boards, but receives none except from the sovereign; having in reality a great authority and high consideration. Yet in some respects the synod should be considered as on a par with it, as being likewise subject to no other college, but receives

* The late vice-chancellor count Panin frequently declared his dislike to all commissions; he thought it more suitable to the due course of law, that every cause should come before its proper court. But that cannot be done in all cases: one proof of it is in the abovementioned state of the mines, into which many disorders had found their way, which the mine-college could not rectify. — Even in matters of less moment commissions and boards of inquiry are appointed in all countries. But in Russia cases often happen where two or three courts must decide in common; and then they act the part of a commission.

orders from the sovereign alone. Both require a somewhat more precise account.

1. The DIRECTING SENATE was constituted by the emperor Peter I. who raised it also to the rank of the supreme or highest college of the empire*. By an ukase of the 15th of December 1763, (which the senate published under the date of January 12, 1764,) the late empress remodelled it entirely, commanding that it should thenceforwards consist of six departments, each of which to have its allotted business, but neither to take precedence of the other: four of these are in Petersburg, and the other two in Mosco. Each issues its orders, and sends them to the inferior courts†. The nomination and the num-

* The exact day of its institution, as we find it in the account of Scheremetof's life, was the 25th of February 1711, in the calendar of the academy of sciences for the year 1790 it is accordingly said to have existed 79 years; whereas our countryman captain Perry, who was then in the country, tells us that it was instituted at Mosco in 1709, and called to Petersburg in 1712, and that at first it consisted of nine boyars. — In fact it seems to have been erected in the place of the old boyars.

† As each of the six departments issues decrees in that belonging to it, (which are uniformly called senate-ukases,) it is impossible for a private individual, even in the heart of the residence, to inform himself of all the new statutes and ordinances: only some few of them being published through the press.

ber of the members depended solely on the empress: in the year 1786 the first department consisted of nine, and the second of six members; in 1789 the first had fifteen, the second nine. These sit, as no president or vice-president is ever chosen, according to their rank and seniority. They have always been men of high rank, distinguished generals, privy-counsellors, princes, counts, &c. By an ukase of Peter I. if the monarch has appointed no others, governors are principally to have seats in the senate, as being already conversant in state affairs. This sometimes still happens, as not many years since a governor obtained the place of a senator*; moreover, every general-governor, by various edicts, in virtue of his office, is a member of the senate, at least is regarded as an extraordinary member, for on his coming into the residence, he may appear in the senate, and there give his vote.

This supreme imperial college, which the empress, in her Instruction to the legislative commission, sect. xxvi. styles the sanctuary of the laws, can issue orders to any other imperial college, and receives reports from them (the synod alone is an exception to this, to which however the senate in certain cases may make a sort of

* The word senator is adopted into the russian language.

request): it publishes the laws and edicts received from the monarch, and provides for their execution; returns a decisive answer to the questions sent in by the courts or governors in doubtful cases; appoints to many considerable posts in the viceroalties; advances, in the name of the empress, meritorious civil-officers to higher rank*; and is the highest tribunal to which appeal can be made: for none can either appeal from its decrees† nor complain of them; but whoever is dissatisfied with its sentence, has no other resource than to present his petition to the cabinet‡, as before observed.

* At present far more titles, but to which no actual service or pay are annexed, are conferred than formerly, for instance, that of a college-secretary, titular or actual counsellors, college-assessors, &c.

† Accordingly the empress says in her Instruction, &c. sect. xcix. that the appeal to the sovereign ought always to be rendered difficult.

‡ Then the empress used (though not always, as it depended on her) to transfer the case adjudged by one department to the whole senate for their decision. If the assembly pronounced a unanimous sentence, then no hope remained to the losing party of any alteration from the sovereign. But if only one senator judged otherwise, then a gleam of hope was left. Some have gone from the whole senate (the plenum) with a petition to the cabinet; yet I know of but one instance where the empress made any alteration in the decree of the senate, in order to shew a favour to all the persons concerned.

A very

A very important, and indeed it may be said; the most important person in the senate is the general procureur, who can oppose the resolutions passed by any one of the departments, prevent their execution, and convene the whole senate together to pronounce upon them; and has, besides, under his care a great number of important affairs.

In the senate are kept the archives of the empire; and various official comptoirs and chanceries belong to it or depend upon it. These are, the office of imperial treasurer, or the present board of the imperial revenues, which has four departments, with particular comptoirs * for the disbursements and for the surplusses (or as they say in Russia, the over-remaining sums); then, the board of admeasurement of the country and the frontiers, with chancery and comptoir, which the late empress appointed; the office of general request master, the herald-master's comptoir, &c. But in the two departments at Mosco the rofræd-archives, containing the family-proofs of all the nobility, have been hitherto kept.

2. The HOLY DIRECTING SYNOD, the supreme spiritual court of the russo-greek church. In the

* Such an one is the present state-comptoir as a division of what is called the kasnatschestvo, for paying out the sums necessary for the various petersburg-departments, &c.

year 1789 this high college consisted of one metropolitan, one archbishop, one bishop, one protopope, (the imperial confessor) one archimandrit, one protopope (of the seculars), one upper-procureur, one chief-secretary, one executor, three secretaries, one protocolist, and one staff-surgeon; absent members were, one metropolitan, two archbishops, one bishop. At the synodal comptoir at Mosco at that time were one metropolitan, one archpriest of the secular clergy, one procureur, and one secretary. In the spiritual commission, one metropolitan, one archbishop, one privy-counsellor, and one secretary* have their seats. — Under the authority of the synod are all prelates, consistories, ecclesiastics, churches, religious books, &c.

* Besides these each eparchy has its own consistory consisting of one archimandrit, one or two priors (igumens) and some secular clergy.

SECTION IV.

*The rest of the imperial Colleges, with several of the
Chanceries, &c.*

THEY are in a manner co-ordinate, and correspond with each other. They were all instituted later than the senate, the most antient of them dating its origin about the year 1718. In reference to the foregoing they may be regarded as colleges of the second class. They are distinguished from all, even the first courts of the vice-royalties, by having their sphere of action not limited to a single government; and likewise in this, that they do not first apply to the senate, but directly to the sovereign.

I. The COLLEGE OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS, which has the direction of ministerial matters, pays the salaries of ministers at foreign courts, pensions, and expences of envoys abroad, gives passports, &c. In all public lists it stands before the rest. The seats here are occupied by the vicechancellor and other eminent personages, at present, for example, the steward of the household, two actual state-counsellors, and several state-counsellors, and chancery-counsellors. Besides 14

persons who exercise the secretariate, 26 translators are here appointed, with several other chancery-officers. In their lists the ministers abroad in 1786 stood in the following order: Warsaw, Vienna, Paris, Madrid, Lisbon, Naples, Dresden, Hague, Turin, London, Ratibon, Frankfurt on the Maine, Berlin, Copenhagen, Stockholm, Hamburgh, Eutin, Mitau, Venice, Constantinople, Florence, Munich, Dantzick. — Agents or commissioners *, were likewise kept at Genoa, Maltha, and in 1789 also in Persia.

Hereto may be properly added from the same lists those persons who are appointed to parts abroad, on account of commerce, or at least under that title, viz. the general consuls at Hamburgh, Stockholm, London, Lisbon, in Sicily, at Smyrna, in the Archipelago, in Moldavia, at Corfu, Ostende, Salonichi, Leghorn, Gibraltar, Alexandria, in Albania, Saida, and the other places in Syria, Morea, at Ragusa, Bourdeaux, and Venice. — 2. The consuls, vice-consuls, and agents: at Sinope, Elfineur, Trieste, Cadiz, Otranto, Marseilles, Rome, and

* The russian term *poverennnye* I do not here pretend to translate accurately. Agent does not come up to it, as that word is already naturalized in the russian language.

Civita-vecchia, Amsterdam, Libau, Leipzik, Königsberg, Lubek, Kiel, Dantzic, Augsberg, Kefalonia, Nice, and Villa-franca, Zante, in Dalmatia Ancona, in Persia at the port of Entfili, in Candia, Cyprus, Rhodes, Chio, Samos, at Varna, Porto-ferraio, Negroponte, Santorini, Bairut, Damascus, Vindau, in the Dardanelles, in Moldavia, and at Dunkirk.

The foreign ministers, residents and agents at the imperial court of Russia, are in the following alphabetical order *: from Austria, Great Britain, Venice, Holland, Denmark, Spain, Kartalinia, Naples, Poland, Portugal, Prussia, Saxony, Sardinia, Tuscany, France, and Sweden. The cities Lubek, Hamburgh, Bremen, and Dantzic, keep one general agent.

2. The COLLEGE OF WAR. It is composed partly of permanent members, and partly of such as are changed. Of the former number is the president †, who is always general feldt-marshal ‡, though this place has been sometimes left vacant; then the vice-president, which post is filled by a general in chief; next a general

* That is, according to the russian alphabet.

† Prince Potemkin filled this post.

‡ Instances have not been wanting of a general in chief becoming general feldt-marshal simply by obtaining the office of president.

lieutenant

lieutenant and a general major, or even several of them. The changeable members consist likewise of generals, who are taken from the divisions at stated times. To the chancery, &c. belong the upper secretary, with the rank of a colonel in the army, the general controleur, the procureur, general auditor, upper auditor, executor, several secretaries, &c. — This college does not entirely supply the place of a minister at war; it even has nothing to do with plans of operation, which belong to the council alone; however its business is extensive and important; it relates to regulations for the divisions, camps, encampments, and head-quarters; advancements*, dismissions, and pensions; appointment or deposition of generals and officers; directions for the payment of sums required; and a variety of other matters. Under it are the accomptant's office, which delivers the money and articles of ammunition to the divisions and regiments; the general victualling-office, the office for clothing the army, the military chest,

* The war-college promotes up to lieutenant-colonel, but only signs the patent of subaltern officers. The patents of staff-officers must be submitted to the sovereign for confirmation and signature. All generals and colonels were advanced by her majesty. — The same holds good with respect to dismissals and resignations.

the

the manufactories of arms, also in certain respects the quarter-master-general, on whom the artillery and engineers depend. — The cadet-corps is not under the war college. — It has a particular office in Mosco.

3. The ADMIRALTY COLLEGE has its president *, who is high-admiral, a vice-president, and as members, admirals, and vice-admirals; in the chancery, a procureur, upper secretary, general auditor-lieutenant, executor, &c. — In its province are the ship-yards, general war-commissariat, the store-office, &c. and has also its subordinate offices † at various places, as, Archangel, Cronstadt, Kazan, Astrakhan, &c. — That the fleet in the Euxine is not under its authority has been already mentioned in its proper place. It directs the construction and the stationing of ships, has the inspection of such forests as lie near navigable rivers, makes advancements, grants, dismissions, &c. but like the war-college, has no interference with plans of operation.

4. The COLLEGE OF JUSTICE, or commonly the justice-college. The law-matters of Livonia, Esthonia, and Finland are still nominally in its jurisdiction; but since the erection of the

* The grand-duke Paul Petrovitch filled that station.

† Kantora is the word in all these places adopted into rufs from the french comptoir.

viceroalties of Riga, Reval, and Vyborg, no lawsuits are any longer brought hither from those duchies. From that time it has been solely employed in terminating causes of long standing, and are now almost all decided. It at present only takes cognizance of the matrimonial and consistorial suits of the members of the protestant communions in Ingria or the government of St. Petersburg and in Russia (for the roman catholics have been for some years exempted by an immenoi ukase from its jurisdiction, and subjected to the archiepiscopal consistory in Mohilef). Accordingly it is now continued only as a protestant consistory.

5. The COLLEGE OF COMMERCE is also in St. Petersburg; has a president, several members, its procureur, executor, some secretaries, &c.

6. The MEDICAL COLLEGE has a chief-director, president, and several members, amongst whom are a general staff-doctor, various doctors and staff-surgeons. It has the superintendence of whatever belongs to the department of medicine, provides the army and navy with physicians and surgeons, &c. Nobody can practice the healing art in the empire without having previously undergone an examination here*.

* From which neither the title of doctor obtained abroad nor any other attestation can be admitted as an exemption.

The college confers also on physicians and surgeons the title of doctor (a faculty which abroad only universities pretend to); it likewise advances surgeons, who have served a certain time, to be staff-surgeons, even when they are not appointed to the army, but are only in a country town*.

Besides these are many other chanceries or permanent commissions and departments, all having their peculiar business. Among them are: the upper-hunt-master's chancery, which has likewise an office in Mosco; the court accountant-office, in which the high court-marshal presides; the stable-kantora, the building and garden kantora; the assignments-bank; the imperial bank; the commercial commission, which in 1789 consisted of six members, all persons of considerable rank, and one chancery director, two secretaries, one executor, &c.; the mint department; the revisions-departments, which in a senate's ukase of the year 1789 was named the office for revising the accounts of the empire; the commission for framing the plan of a new law-book; the academical commission, established not long since, has the superintendence over all

* It has the care of obfletrical institutions, regulates the charges of apothecaries, &c. and determines what nostrums may be sold in the empire.

the schools and universities in the empire, (excepting only such as have especial privileges,) provides and examines all the necessary school-books, has under it an academical-directory, and receives accounts from all the schools; the department of the finance-college, &c. In general all institutions of importance, almost every large edifice, the education-houses, hospitals, &c. have their particular offices.

During the late reign many of the colleges and kantoras formerly in being were abolished. This was done at first by an ukase, bearing date Dec. 15, 1763, when a total alteration was introduced into the senate. Others have ceased on the erection of the provincial viceroyalties. Of this number are, 1. the russian college of justice, at the same time the justice-comptoir, and the sudnoi-prikase, (which latter formerly decided petty matters of petition and demand,) having their chanceries both at Mosco and St. Petersburg. 2. The finance-college in Mosco, and the russian finance-comptoir in Petersburg, the business of which is now done by the finance-chambers of the several governments. 3. The superior magistracy; after having terminated its affairs, it ceased on the 9th of April 1788. 4. The tutelary-chancery, to which were committed the care of all the colonist-institutions. 5. The

5. The college of mine-works, the affairs whereof are now managed by the finance-chambers of the governments; to it was subjected, in the year 1781, the siberian head-mine-office at Ekatarinenburg, constituted by the emperor Peter I. over all the uralian mines, and till then independent. There is nothing now remaining of it but the mine-school at St. Petersburg. 6. The œconomy-college, instituted the 26th of February 1764, to have the superintendance over all the landed property at that time taken from the church, and called spiritual estates, (episcopal, monastic, and ecclesiastical,) and to manage their pecuniary produce. At present the boors belonging to those estates are under the control of the œconomy-directors at the finance-chambers. — The following colleges and comptoirs appear to be already abolished, or at least are now superfluous: 1. The feudal-college which gave decisions in litigated successions and lawsuits concerning landed property, and consisted of four departments. 2. The revisions-college, which was a sort of check on other colleges, and revised their accounts, and, like the former, was at Mosco. 3. The finance-comptoir for livonian, esthonian, and finland affairs, the business whereof is transferred to the finance-courts of

the governments. 4. The manufacture-college, which was at Mosco, but had a comptoir at St. Petersburg. 5. The confiscations-college, which directed the sale of all forfeited estates, and, among other things, levied the mulcts and fines imposed by the other colleges. 6. The chief salt-comptoir, the business of which is probably given to the finance-courts.

SECTION V.

A glance at the Laws.

PERSONS who imagine the russian form of government to be despotic have hastily advanced, that in Russia every thing is arbitrarily decided rather than legally adjudged *, since, besides the ukases that come out from time to time, which, being suited only to particular cases, are frequently different from each other and even contradictory, there is no fixed and determinate law, much less any proper collection of sta-

* Formerly, while there were no regular tribunals, it might be that governors, who were every thing in their governments, or perhaps a voivode, might pronounce arbitrarily in many cases. But such things are no longer done.

tutes *. This is a great mistake; for, not to mention particular provinces, such as those of Little Russia and those of the Baltic, who have always retained their antient laws, and had the free use of them; law-books, or digests of the laws, have long been in being, and in use in Great Russia. One of them, the novgorodian, was drawn up by Yaroslav the great in the eleventh century. Tzar Ivan Vassilievitch published a national code, which was framed upon the manner of thinking in those times. Tzar Alexey Michailovitch published the Uloshenie † as a new law of the country, taking in some degree the antient laws for its basis ‡. A far greater number of laws are derived from Peter

* Great improvements are continually making in the laws, but there are many extant both antient and modern; therefore it is often said in ukases and ordinances, that the proceeding is to be conformably with the laws of the empire, or in general according to the laws.

† It forms a quarto volume about an inch in thickness.

‡ It refers back to the national-laws of tzar Ivan Vassilievitch, as then in being, but too rudely drawn up for the then present times. Accordingly, the tzar called together his boyars, the patriarch, the metropolitans, archbishops, bishops, and others, to take them into consideration with him, who unanimously agreed to the present as the law of the land; and he issued his commands that it should be brought into practice as the decisive law.

the great; for, besides many particular ukases, and those afterwards collected, all of which have the force of laws, several collections of his are extant, such as, the general regulation; the privileges granted to mine-owners, to which the empress Anna afterwards annexed a mine-regulation; the spiritual-reglement, enlarging upon that which had been begun by tzar Ivan Vassilievitch, and continued by Alexey Michailovitch; the articles of war, &c. — But never did any of the sovereigns apply their attention so much to legislation as Catharine II. from the very commencement of her reign, by whom were issued a great number of separate ukases and ordinances as well as whole collections: among the latter may be classed the ordinances for the administration of the governments, the instruction, the charter granted to the nobility, the regulations for the police, for commerce, &c.

She exerted every means that law and equity should every where have their course. Judges were appointed in the neighbourhood of every place; their duties were clearly prescribed to them*, and they were brought to account for

* If the ordinances that have been published to that effect were faithfully complied with, there would certainly be no ground of complaint against the administration of government.

neglect. Every rank and station knew its privileges and the bounds assigned to it. Wherever any defect was perceived, means were applied for remedying it according to the exigences of the times and of the empire, and for improving and completing the system of legislation.

Whatever irregularities and enormities have heretofore been committed, they certainly were not by far so frequent during the late reign; and her majesty's orders were not only very strict against every mode of corruption, fraud, and oppression*, but by ascertaining the pay of her officers and defining their duties, together with the employment of other means, she effectually checked those deplorable evils, and earnestly endeavoured to prevent them entirely. So that it seems now to be morally impossible that such acts of injustice and cruelty should again be practised as are found in the history of many of her predecessors, and particularly in that of the empress Elizabeth.

* We need only refer to the ukase of the 15th of Dec. 1763, for an account of the oppressions, &c. that gave rise to it, in the empress's own words. See *Life of Catharine II.* vol. i. p. 345. 3d edit. See also p. 477 & seq.

Remarks on the Condition of the Subjects.

THAT in representing the state of a country and the nature of its government, a principal regard should be had to the condition of the subjects needs no formal proof; it might indeed be considered in some degree as a political barometer. However, it forms an important object of political interest, whether we regard the sovereign, the empire at large, or the individuals of which it is composed: it being of infinite moment to the first that the subjects should be in an easy and prosperous state, not merely from the generous sentiment of humanity, but likewise because the well-being of his government depends upon it: with the latter it frequently determines the nature of their lot, fixes the degree of their patriotic ardour, the important source of numberless social virtues.

It will not here be expected that the condition of the subjects should be presented in every point of view, or that an accurate description should be given of each particular people and of every class; which could not be done without tiresome repetitions and unprofitable amplifications, not to mention the almost insurmountable difficulties

culties we should have to encounter in the attempt. It will be amply sufficient if we confine ourselves to two objects, the public burdens and the comforts of the individual. As nothing more can be expected from the happiest and most beneficial form of government, than that it should wisely apportion the former, and promote the latter by the most efficacious means. Both together will furnish us with some explanatory proofs and examples, from which suggestions will arise that may throw light on what has been advanced in the foregoing sections. Such examples have, indeed, here and there been occasionally scattered; but the importance of the subject demands, or at least justifies me in attempting to give a more precise explication of it, especially as foreigners are apt to entertain erroneous opinions on the condition of the russian subjects, which can excite no surprise, as both antient and modern travellers, of whom many have passed no more than a few weeks in Russia, or are only acquainted with the residence, have spread so many false reports concerning it.

If any should think that these remarks would have been more properly interwoven with the particulars that have just been treated on instead of making them into a distinct section, they have only to consider them under the two following

heads, as a supplement to the foregoing sections, in order that they may not be quite out of place.

I. PUBLIC IMPOSTS AND BURDENS ON THE SUBJECTS. After having already pointed out and explained the greater part of them, it will be sufficient now to make a closer application of them to some particular ranks, and add a few comments by way of illustration.

Certain public imposts depend entirely on circumstances, for instance, the stamped paper and the poschlin, as well in law matters as in the sale of a landed estate. To these we shall pay no regard, especially as the great multitude, or the common people are not at all subject to them, inasmuch as the boors possess no immoveable property; and, because, when they have occasion to prefer a petition or a complaint, or to apply to a court of justice, they are allowed to do it by word of mouth, in which neither poschlin nor stamped paper are necessary *. —

* It is scarcely ever necessary but in juridical proceedings. In private bonds or obligations, &c. it depends entirely on the parties concerned whether they will use it or not. If not, then the proper stamped sheet is only added when the writing is brought before a court of justice. This tax, therefore, is not here so burdensome as in a country where a stamp is necessary to every trifling receipt.

Neither

Neither can taxes which are in the nature of contracts or rents be properly considered in the number of public burdens. The crown-boors and the agricultural boors possess no landed property; for the land allotted to them they pay the obrok, or perform task-service, or deliver a certain quantity of natural products, which may be considered as rent, which the boor, whether belonging to a private individual or to a nobleman, is bound to pay his landlord for the grounds he occupies: he has no need, therefore, of employing a capital for obtaining a piece of land, as in countries where the peasant can purchase it only for a sum of money. It is nearly the same when they set up bee-stages in a forest belonging to the crown, in consideration of a certain yearly impost, &c.

Here we should bestow our attention on the proper taxes and burdens which are general and permanent, according to the different ranks and conditions. In general it is to be remarked, that their total amount cannot be ascertained* even generally at so much per cent. excepting

* In some countries of the continent the subject pays the 20th pfennig, or even from 30 to 40 per cent. on his profits in trade, &c. There is nothing of this sort in Russia.

among the merchants, as they do not merely vary according to the ranks and provinces, but are very different in themselves.

The nobleman, who, generally speaking, pays no tax for any of his land which he occupies himself, nor even for his moveable property, should reasonably be considered according to the various relations in which he stands. — If he possess no male vassals, his fields, forests, mines, mills, fisheries, &c. which he occupies with free or hired labourers, are as exempt from taxation as his person: let him sell what part of his forest, &c. he will, he pays no tax on the sale; only if he sell the forest itself, as a piece of ground, then the purchaser (or he himself) must pay the *poschlin* *. Such noblemen are not only in Little Russia, and other places, but even in Great Russia, where, however, they are not reckoned among the rich nobility, though many of them may possess considerable property.

On the other hand the nobleman who has vassals must furnish recruits out of them. Indeed, as has been before observed, it falls upon his boors; but he, as lord of the manor, loses

* In order to save this, they frequently, particularly in Esthonia, instead of making a sale, enter into mortgages for a certain number of years.

of his number of men, consequently, according to the phrase here in use, a part of his immoveable property. This public burden is at times considerable *, and seems on one side to be heavier than in other european countries ; which the following instance may explain. The province of Ingria, which was formerly exempt from the levy of recruits, ever since the last war, has furnished annually one recruit out of every 100 souls, or male heads. As children and old men, even infirm and decrepit beggars, are included in this number, and always reckoned according to the last revision, though since that time many have died, deserted, or been given as recruits ; therefore sometimes out of 30 able-bodied or working men according to their age, one recruit must be delivered. If the noblemen have none such in his village, or is unwilling to part with them, he tries to buy them of some other nobleman, paying for them 300 rubles, or even more. The crown reckons for each 360 rubles ; at which price they may justly be estimated in regard to the public taxes, especially as the delivery of them is attended

* It is well known, not to be to the advantage of any country, that the nobility with large estates in land should contribute nothing to the exigences of the state, and be exempt from all public burdens,

with

with several expences *. Suppose the nobleman employs his boors, if he does not himself follow farming, only for the obrok, and is paid by each soul or male 5 rubles, then he raises from his village, consisting of 100 souls, the annual sum of 500 rubles, or, by reason of the recruits already delivered, &c. not nearly so much. If he purchases the recruits required, or, which is the same thing, if he reckon them at the former price, he surrenders nearly two thirds of his income to the crown. — We should, however, be apt to draw very erroneous conclusions were we to consider the public burdens of the nobility only on this side. For, in the first place, most noblemen take the recruits out of their villages, without buying them, there being always people for that purpose †; consequently, he loses a man indeed, yet by him not about two thirds of his income, but only 5 rubles of the fixed yearly obrok. If he live not on his estates, or

* The recruit is furnished with clothes, travelling-money, a stock of provisions, &c. Sometimes a present is given to the receivers, (the officer and the surgeon, who must examine him,) as a bribe that they may not object to him.

† For this purpose, as in other countries, are taken such as would come to no good, being addicted to drunkenness and thieving, &c. Many masters give up their servants, instead of the punishment they have deserved, as recruits. Their place is soon supplied by births.

in his village, then he does not trouble his head about the delivery of recruits, but leaves the whole care of it to his boors, who are obliged to pay him yearly the full amount of the obrok, in common, clear of all deductions for the recruits delivered. 2. Many noblemen take from each soul a much larger obrok than 5 rubles, particularly when their boors are rich, or have found out the art of carrying on profitable trades, or they take in hand plots of ground which they cause to be tilled and cultivated by the *corvée* or feudal-service of their boors; whereby their income amounts to much more than the 500 rubles from 100 souls. 3. In time of peace commonly no more than one recruit is demanded out of 500 souls, and that not every year, but sometimes after a long interval*; then the nobleman scarcely feels any burden at all, especially as he has nothing to do with any other impost of the crown, even in war-time, &c.† What is this then in comparison with the taxes in other countries!

* What is here said of furnishing recruits holds good in some respects of the crown-boors, &c. as far as they are liable to it.

† Frequently the boors pay the money for which the lord bought the recruits, because otherwise he compels their sons to go by drawing lots.

We

We have before observed, that the nobility in Livonia, Esthonia, and Finland, furnish no recruits from their vassals, but in return are subject to various other public burdens and taxes. The latter are extended in Livonia even to some noble manorial grounds, such as have been formerly occupied by boors, and others that pass under several denominations.

2. The clergy, in regard to their persons, are likewise exempt from taxes. Their stipends, which consist in money, and in the country of corn and pieces of land, are raised by them free of all deduction. — That the russian secular clergy give their sons, when they have several, as recruits, has been already mentioned, though it is not to be considered as a burden, as they gradually rise to be officers. Numbers of placemen and lutheran preachers, &c. in the baltic provinces, whose sons are not required for military service, put them into it of their own accord, either in the hope of speedy advancement, or because their circumstances are too narrow to admit of their devoting them to a studious life.

The livonian and esthonian pastorates, if possessing any freeholds in villages, are equally subject to the public burdens with the noble estates: previous to the year 1783 the esthonian pastorates, even though they had freehold villages belong-

belonging to them, had nothing to do with them.

3. Placemen and officers of the crown, &c. are in many countries obliged either to pay a certain annual tax upon their salaries, or at least occasionally a sort of war-contribution *: nothing of this kind is known in Russia. Only for the making out of patents, here, as elsewhere, certain fees are taken.

4. All literary men, who are not inrolled in any guild, and, beside their learned profession, as physicians, lawyers, &c. are not engaged in trade, are entirely exempt from taxes. The same holds good of artists, &c.

5. All people who live solely on the interest of their capital, and do not inscribe themselves in any guild, however large their income may be, pay no tax upon it whatever.

6. All inhabitants of towns possess their immovable property free of all taxation, only bearing their quota where troops are quartered upon them, and are obliged, as in other countries, to contribute to the requisites of the town. — As burghers, in regard to the public taxes, which

* It has happened that an impoverished government has paid the salaries in obligations alone, and demanded the tax upon them in specie.

however

however are laid neither on the profits of their trade nor on their immovable property, are divided into two classes, some paying the before-mentioned per centage, and others the poll-tax. — The recruit-money paid by the russian merchants, has likewise been noticed before.

7. Among the free-countrymen in regard to public taxes, there is, as above-said, a great difference: some paying absolutely nothing, but perform service; others being subject to the poll-tax and the obrok, or tribute, or other pecuniary imposts. So likewise it is in regard to recruits. — Menial servants, who in some countries are obliged to give a part of their hard-earned pittance of wages into the public treasury, pay in Russia, if free-born, only the usual poll-tax; foreigners nothing at all.

8. Vassal-boors pay poll-tax and furnish recruits. — The obrok of the crown-boors, as already remarked, is not to be considered as a public tax, but as a sort of rent for the occupancy of the lands allotted to them, or for the permission to follow any trade they please*.

* Rent is indeed by no means the proper term; but I know of no better. For even people who occupy no lands, are obliged sometimes to pay the obrok; which they strive to earn by all sorts of hard-labour: if they be beggars, yet the community or the village must pay for them.

Some-

Sometimes cases will happen, when a public tax seems to bear hard upon particular persons, though it be otherwise in fact, or at least no convenient means of altering it can be devised. This may be illustrated by an example. It was ordained, once for all, that the amount of the poll-tax calculated upon the revision for every village, estate, district, or house, should be brought into the coffers of the crown unaltered till the next revision*; therefore the births in the interval occasion no increase, and the deaths, impoverishments, desertions, &c. no diminution of the sum. This maxim must be observed, as otherwise the collectors would have no more to do than every moment to alter their lists, books, and accounts. Every one will allow that this immutability is highly necessary; and, forasmuch as commonly more persons are born than die, it is beneficial to the subjects. Only on applying it to particular instances it will not alleviate every one. So, perhaps, the nobleman, the man of

* Besides, every community is allowed to collect this sum by a prudent distribution. Thus, for instance, the magistrate sees that the richer inhabitants contribute somewhat more, and the poorer rather less. The nobleman may proceed in like manner in his village and demesnes. Consequently many burghers or boors pay a larger poll-tax than is imposed on them by the crown.

letters,

letters, or some other, causes his free hired servants to be enregistered at the revision; but after a while they choose to enlist as recruits, and therefore serve only the crown; yet the master must pay the poll-tax for them till the next revision. The case is the same with artificers, if their apprentices enlist for soldiers. So it is likewise with criminals condemned to the public works. — Here it is really too glaring at first sight; but the crown can do no otherwise, or the immutability which we have admitted to be necessary would hourly fall to pieces. Moreover, it should not be forgotten, that burden and benefit proceed with equal steps; for, if the tradesman takes an apprentice who was born after the revision, he pays no poll-tax for him. These instances may perhaps suggest similar cases to some readers.

Several provinces have also public burdens peculiar to them, which may be regarded as taxes, such as, maintaining the post-stations, repairing the highways, &c.

Sometimes the taxes and public burdens wear an entirely different aspect. Indeed that has not happened, as far as I know, in Great-Russia for a long time, except in the obrok of the crown-boors: but in Little-Russia, and with the old slobode regiments, a pecuniary tax and afterwards the poll-tax were introduced in lieu of the former
kozak-

kozak-service. The latter has likewise been carried into Livonia, Esthonia, and Finland. — Ingria formerly was not called upon for recruits, for mending the roads and maintaining the post-stations; but was obliged to furnish a certain quantity of forage for the horse-guards. The latter is now abolished, and the poll-tax of 150 kopeeks on every male is introduced, with the obligation to keep the roads in order at their own expence, and latterly the delivery of recruits. But then the proximity to the residence furnishes them with opportunity for making great returns for their products.

From this short representation it satisfactorily appears, that the ordinary public taxes of the empire are very various; that, taken on an average, they admit of no per cent calculation; that they are liable to several alterations according to times and circumstances; and that even the delivery of recruits is not of the same nature throughout.

As we should here particularly consider the great body of the yeomanry or country-folk, it is now to be observed that their real necessities are subject to no taxes, because in all Russia there is no such thing as excise *. What the common man wants for his nourishment and cloathing,

* None upon the meat or the cattle that he sells, on the malt, bread, fish, &c. which the proprietor consumes, or which are bought.

generally consists in the products of his rural œconomy, on which, in many districts he pays no tax whatever, and in others only a moderate tribute to the land-owner for the occupancy of his farm. Salt is indeed a monopoly of the crown, yet, as observed before, it is very cheap; brandy on the other hand, is dear; but many of the common people do not hold it to be indispensably necessary to them; others make it themselves for their own use, as the kozaks; or, on a failure of their crops of corn, to supply the place of it, prepare a strong liquor of milk, as several of the uncivilized nomadic nations, as may be seen, among others, from the writings of the academicians. — For the earning of money to pay the pecuniary taxes a thousand means present themselves to all who have a disposition to work and to careful œconomy. Husbandry, the breeding of cattle, the forests, the culture of hops, bee-stages, &c. yield the boor, beside the supply of the necessities of life, a considerable surplus for sale: besides, he sometimes goes himself, or sends his well-grown son, if there be no manufactories in the neighbourhood, to such places as afford work and profit, either as a fisherman or a boatman on the rivers, or as a bricklayer or carpenter, or to cut ditches and water-courses, &c. — In general the taxes are not oppressive; and those that seem to be so, or
are

are not perfectly agreeable to the subject, cannot, as we have seen before, be conveniently altered. But that the subjects, if they will, may live comfortably according to their station, shall be more accurately, yet briefly shewn under the head immediately following.

2. *General welfare of the Subjects.*

In every country, and among all ranks are to be found rich and poor persons, whose welfare is generally computed by their circumstances or earnings. That there are very rich people in Russia is known to every one. But even to the poorer sort it is not difficult to procure themselves in a short time a sort of competence, as sources of profit are open to all ranks, such as, for the nobility, the military, and civil service; for the burghers an extensive commerce, manufactures, and all kinds of service, &c. for the country people a prodigious variety of products, advantageous employments, and the like.

That both the nobility and the burghers live actually in affluence, is manifest from the luxury that every where prevails. Whoever has travelled through Russia must have observed in the houses of the country noblesse that are not quite fallen to decay, a very plentiful table, neat and handsome dresses, a competent number of servants,

vants, and all other things in proportion. In the towns the wealthy merchants live not only in a decent manner, but even in a grand style. The same may be affirmed of a number of tradesmen in several districts, particularly in the provinces of the Baltic. Many of the latter who go about in a plain and rather humble garb, yet consume more than their equals in many other countries*.

But we are here particularly speaking of the class of countrymen. The russian boor, even the vassal of the nobleman, lives very decently in his house, has a sufficiency of wholesome food, is neatly dressed, puts commonly two or three dishes on his table, and even accumulates a trifling capital, though, as it is not secured to him and may be taken from him, he frequently buries it in the ground. Besides, we have already named some noble villages where the boors display an opulence which would be looked for in vain in other countries: and such villages are in great numbers. For judging of the rest

* At the tables of the german tradesmen in Livonia are commonly seen more than one dish, and among them some that are costly, for instance, chickens, venison, and veal, when they are not uncommonly dear; they generally (excepting the very poorest) drink coffee twice a day, and make punch on Sundays; though both these liquors are at present rather expensive. But their profits are high.

one instance may suffice; and that for the sake of variety shall be a crown-village. The large village Mefen, on the banks of the river of the same name, 50 versts from its exit into a great arm of the White-sea, stands in an ungrateful soil, where nature has acted the part of a step-mother: for it contains nothing but forest; only a trifle of barley is sown yearly, but which seldom ripens; and is only used for the straw in foddering the cattle. Nevertheless the boors here have always been rich people. Every man has a house to live in, which, though only of wood, yet is roomy, and consists of two stories; the lower serving for the purposes of housekeeping, but the upper containing several handsome apartments fitted up with paper-hangings, and supplied with english furniture; many of them keep above 100 servants, from the Laplanders of those parts, who wait upon them with their rein-deer. These people derive their riches from the fisheries on the White-sea and the Frozen-ocean; but their greatest profits arise from the capture of whales. Their products of this nature are sold to the English, mostly those who reside at Archangel; from which place they obtain their necessities: by the road they have 700 versts to go thither, but by sea only half that distance. The people of this country are well-built, but suffer

much in their eyes from the reflection of the sun-beams by the ice^{*}. Their village, on account of its magnitude and the opulence that prevails there, has latterly been erected into a circle-town †. — The russian and finnish boors in the province of Ingria, or what is now the government of St. Petersburg, are not by far to be reckoned among the wealthiest, since the greater part of them, besides the taxes in kind and in specie, are obliged to perform feudal service to the nobles of those parts: but all of them have a decent income and live in a kind of affluence. — The russian boor may soon become rich, as he understands the art of making profit of every thing, and whenever he pleases of being content with a little ‡; for all his clothes cost him nothing, consisting merely of what is manu-

* Some are almost blind by it at 30 years of age.

† Over against this village, on the other side of the river, the English had great concerns in the reign of the empress Elizabeth, where they constructed saw-mills, iron-forges, with a great number of hammers worked by water, &c. which are now all gone to ruin.

‡ A striking example of this is observable in the russian soldier, who, from his extremely small pay, and his exactly measured allowance of provision, frequently by economy and good management accumulates a little capital from his savings.

factured

factured at home; and his diet, which, by the way, during the long fasts is extremely meagre, is supplied to him from his husbandry.

Among the very numerous nobility many possess fortunes of 100,000 and 500,000 rubles, or sometimes more; but the generality may have a fortune of between 30,000 and 100,000. Others, who have no landed property, or but little, and perhaps are even in debt, find various means of acquiring a decent income, either in the military or civil service, or by farming. Those who are called poor, would not be thought so in Saxony, Brandenburg, and several other countries: for none of them, as there, are seen walking on foot or waiting on themselves; every one keeps his coach and horses, at least a servant, and several maids to attend on his lady*. Hence we may easily form a judgment of the expence that is so conspicuous in the houses of the affluent nobility, with whom the mansion, gardens, equipage, table, attendance, plate, and furniture, induce

* If it should be asked how they defray this expence, it might serve as an answer, that horses and servants here do not occasion any great disbursements. Besides, he often meets with support from his more wealthy brethren, at least lodging, provender for horses and cattle, fire-wood, &c. perhaps on one of the manors, free of expence.

one to believe it the feat of some petty prince *. At this we need the less be surprised, as the riches, prosperity, and revenues of the landowners are more than three times as great as they were 30 years ago. At that time a haak of land in Livonia or Esthonia was worth about 2000 rubles, and produced a yearly rent of 80 or at most 120 rubles; whereas at present a haak cannot be purchased for less than 5000, and with small estates will cost upwards of 7000 rubles, yielding a rent of 400 or 600 rubles, and even more. Hence it is evident, that persons who 20 years since were worth 20,000 rubles, may now be deemed rich men. Yet with all these happy circumstances, many of them have entirely run out their estates and plunged their families in distress by unthriftiness, the baleful passion for ruinous play, extravagant expences, and idle speculations †.

In

* Several noblemen of good fortunes, however, still continue to live under a thatched roof. Though great luxury in general prevails, yet there are numbers of families who adopt a prudent frugality, and even discover a striking parsimony.

† It is rather unaccountable, how some noblemen whose estates by this means are put into sequestration and carefully managed, find them insufficient to satisfy the creditors, yet afterwards

In no country are the learned professions so well provided for as in the provinces last-mentioned. The preacher*, even on the smallest country-pastorate, lives on as brilliant a footing as the general superintendant in many of the provinces of Germany: his daily table is supplied with several dishes; he keeps men servants and maid servants †; he is commonly the friend and confident of the noblemen of his parish, and his house the usual resort of them; no man of

afterwards live in a sort of affluence and at a greater expence than would be reasonably imagined. At least the children seem not always to become poor at the same time with their parents.

* The stated salaries in towns are still at the old rate, and very low; but the accidents, as they are called, that is presents, instead of what with us are demanded as *fees*, are so much the greater, especially when several noblemen are resident there, who usually give for a marriage or a baptism from 20 to 50 rubles. Also rich burghers make large presents.

† When he has any pastorate-boors, he is, like the nobleman on his demesne, their master and judge, takes from them as many domestics as he pleases, and has his husbandry performed by their feudal-service. If he have no boors belonging to him, then the parish must find him a proper number of domestics, and besides them, the necessary hands for his husbandry without wages or recompence; he likewise receives his firewood of them, free of expence.

rank

rank need be ashamed of driving in his coach and pair, often his coach and four *. His pastorate is equal in all respects, even in privileges and immunities, to any nobleman's estate in his neighbourhood: the income of a larger benefice upon a near calculation may amount to 1500 or 2000, and a moderate one to about 800 rubles; yet there are a few smaller, which are likewise more productive than the little manors, because they have not only the benefit of their own husbandry, but also a good revenue in corn and money from the parish. — The livonian advocates are not wont to draw up a writing, as in Saxony, for a few grosches: the ordinary fee being seldom confined to 5 or 10 rubles, and for instituting a trifling process, or for preparing a covenant, contract, testament, &c. they are usually paid from 50 to 100 rubles: it is not then to be wondered at that they drive about in such carriages as they go in in Saxony to the privy-council; and, that, after practising a few years, they purchase a noble demesne. — The physician, even the surgeon, who frequently acts in the capacity of the former, is paid for an ordinary cure from 30 to 200 rubles; it is common for a

* To see him going about on foot, as in Germany, would be a strange sight.

wealthy nobleman to make an agreement with his physician, whom he always sends for from town in his own carriage, and pays him for the whole cure 500 rubles. When a surgeon inoculates the boor-children in a district, he generally may expect a recompence of 80 or 100 rubles. Besides the physician and the surgeon which are paid by the crown for every circle, it is usual for a nobleman or a parish to keep a physician of their own, to whom they give a fixed salary of 300 or 400 rubles. — The common salary of a domestic tutor 30 years ago was 100 or 150 rubles; at present in the houses of noblemen it is generally 300 or 400 rubles, to which tea, coffee, the use of the carriage, attendance, washing, and even considerable presents are added *. Nor need this be a matter of surprise, as the nobleman pays his steward, who can only write and keep accounts, with free board, &c. 100 or 150 rubles per annum.

Owing to the flourishing state of commerce, in the maritime towns many merchants are seen who possess capitals of some hundred thousands of rubles. It may be advanced in general that

* The music-master at the manor-house usually gets as much. The poor nobleman consequently feels himself rather pinched, when his children are grown up to require a domestic tutor.

this

this opulence would be more common, if they were fewer in number, and their expences* bore a nearer proportion with their gains†. — The tradesmen earn a great deal of money with little trouble‡.

* It is only in small towns that the merchant's wife goes on foot to church; in the larger she has her coach after the newest fashion, and in the house as much magnificence is displayed frequently as in that of the wealthy nobleman.

† The russian traders in the livonian towns are a proof of this. As their expence in cloaths, eating, carriage, &c. is far smaller, they can afford to sell their commodities much cheaper, accordingly they make quick returns, and soon find themselves in good circumstances.

‡ A few examples from the small country-towns will set this matter in a perspicuous light. The shoemaker takes for a pair of shoes, when all the leather is found him, merely for the making between 50 kopecks and 1 ruble; for a pair of boots 1½ or 2 rubles; the taylor for a plain garment from 3 to 5 rubles; the joiner for a common chest smeared with varnish, for which the wood costs him between 30 and 50 kopecks, from 5 to 10 rubles; the wheelwright for a pair of coach-wheels, the wood costing him 40 kopecks, gets between 3 and 4 rubles; the tanner for a bullock's hide which he buys raw for 3 or 4 rubles, is paid 8 or 10 rubles; the smith for an ordinary padlock will have from 1 to 3 rubles, &c. — But then in what manner do these people live? Expensive victuals, coffee twice a day, (which here costs at present 48 to 52 kopecks per pound,) entertainments, parties of pleasure, &c. are extremely common. The wife goes gaily dressed, and seldom condescends to do any of the household business, but leaves it all to her maids.

The

The livonian and esthonian peasantry are generally thought to be, if not miserable, at least poor: and many of them may be so termed, if we consider their vassalage and their feudal burdens, or their dwellings, nourishment, and household furniture. The industrious and frugal, however, live upon the produce of their agriculture in as comfortable a manner as the nature of their feudal constitution will admit, if the boundless avarice or insensibility of a proprietor do not crush them by exorbitant imposts and feudal burdens. Among the Lettes are boors who feel some consequence by their riches; and among the Esthonians are boor's wives who wear silver necklaces and stomachers to the value of 50 rubles; and among both nations some who eat their own good household bread the whole year through, with a dish of meat besides, have a considerable quantity of live stock, and lay by a small capital sum of money, (sometimes, as was before observed, bury it in the ground,) or let it out upon interest. Many of them might live more commodiously than in the wretched smoky rooms which they inhabit, as some of the substantial peasants actually do in chambers with neat little windows; but they had in general much rather adhere to the old manners of their fathers.

fathers*. On estates belonging to the crown, where the imposts and feudal services are accurately defined, the boor, when his husbandry succeeds, lives contented and happy; and many of the private landlords act the part of a father to the people on their demesnes. — Some writers seem to imagine the Esthonian to be destitute of the finer feelings of our nature and a demi-brute; but thousands of examples shew that nature has not dealt unkindly with them, though in quickness of intellect they are far below the Russians.

The generality of the kozaks enjoy not only the necessaries but the accommodations and comforts of life. In the parts about the Don ease and affluence are every where seen; and the kozaks of the Ural usually pass their time in idleness and yet in plenty, from the riches they obtain by means of the productive fisheries on that river.

It may probably not be unacceptable to find here a somewhat more circumstantial account of a very remote province, that of Nertschinsk, which to my knowledge has not yet been described by any traveller as to its prosperity. The

* The Greenlander is much better pleased with his filthy earth-hole than with a fine edifice in Copenhagen.

people there pay, according to the nature of their condition and constitution, the usual public taxes, either by tribute or money. This they derive, as well as all other necessities, from agriculture, the chase, the fishery, working in the mines, the trade of carriers, the sale of their products to the russian merchants who go thither for them, and their trade with China, when it is open. Some of these sources of gain require to be a little enlarged on here; first remarking, that russian and foreign goods, particularly linen, are annually imported and consumed in those parts to the amount of above 100,000 rubles. On the other hand, the country-people, beside their own consumption get a net profit in money, among other things from: 1. agriculture; in good years the boors sell to the mine-works at the four towns thereabouts, and to the troops on the frontiers, annually to the amount of 20,000 to 25,000 rubles in corn; 2. from the trade of carriers, as they convey all the furs of those parts to russian towns on account of the merchants*, or bring back goods from them, by which they earn every year from 8 to 10,000 rubles; 3. from the trade to China, when it goes

* Some even carry at times the noble metals obtained there to the place of their destination.

forward, whither they transport annually about 2000 horses, nearly the same number of horned cattle, and as many yufts or hides, and several thousand lamb-skins; 4. from the trade to Russia in which they only dispose of furs: this amounted (besides the tribute paid by the Tunguses and Buræts) from the year 1785 to 1789, one year with another, annually to about 120,000 to 240,000 squirrel-skins, at 106 or 150 rubles the thousand; 180 to 240 fables, at 5. to 15 rubles a piece, rarely 20 to 25 rubles.*; 200 to 350 fox-skins, at $1\frac{1}{2}$ or 2 rubles a piece; 100. to 150 bear-skins, at 4 to 15 rubles a piece†; 300 to 400 wolf-skins, at $1\frac{1}{2}$ to 3 rubles each; 50 to 60 lynx-skins, from 5 to 8 rubles each ‡; 10,000

* The da-urian fables and squirrels are reckoned to be the best in the empire, accordingly they are dearer than those from other parts. For this reason the Chinese, who have the art of colouring them, buy, not these but the worse and therefore cheaper ones from Irkutsk. For some time past it has been observed, that the fables and squirrels retire thence to the river Amoor: perhaps on account of the number of hunters.

† The latter price is paid by the russian merchants that come thither only for those with silvery hair, which however are very scarce.

‡ But when the commerce at Kiachta flourishes, they are worth in trade 13 or 14 rubles a piece.

to 15,000 hare-skins, at 40 to 50 rubles the thousand*; 30 to 40 glutton-skins, from 4 to 8 rubles a piece; 6000 to 8000 black and white lamb-skins, a black at 50 to 70, a white at 20 to 35 kopecks, &c.

As agriculture here is very inviting on account of the profit it brings, the Tunguses and Buræts have begun to addict themselves to it, and thus open an advantageous prospect for futurity. Some of them also attempt to gain a livelihood as carriers.

That amidst so many means of gaining money the people must in general be in easy circumstances, is apparent to the most careless observer; besides, the conduct of the old russian inhabitants is a proof of it, many of whom are censured by the academicians in the account of their travels for living in idleness and debauchery†. It was for this reason that a very respectable person, who has a thorough knowledge of the district of Nertschinsk, mentions in a letter, that it would be of great service to the province and

* The skins of bears, wolves, lynxes, foxes, badgers, and marmottes, are worse in hair than those in other parts of Russia; but those of the hare are as good as anywhere else.

† The old inhabitants who follow husbandry particularly are become very negligent and great spendthrifts by their affluence. Even the common people there drink a prodigious quantity of tea; each person several cans of it a day.

the agriculture of those parts, as well as highly improving and encouraging to the other inhabitants, if the crown would send about 1000 or more good russian boors to settle there: as they would set a fine example of industry to the uncivilized natives, and teach them to carry on husbandry to greater advantage, and might perhaps gradually inspire their elder brethren of those countries, or at least their posterity, with more œconomical dispositions.

Foreign gentlemen coming to Russia have perhaps entered a peasant's house by the road, and at the sight of some objects have been led to think the condition of the russian boors to be extremely wretched and miserable*. They found, for example, no feather-beds; as the russian boor sleeps on a hard bench, his coat or a sort of rug serving him both for coverlet and pillow. But the common russian, who is inured to this from his very infancy, and generally has nothing at all to cover him, requires no feather-bed; otherwise he could soon provide himself with one, as he is neither in want of tame poultry nor wild fowl. — Others have pronounced the russian merchants, from their simple national habit, to be destitute of propriety in dress; and

* Some travellers, from seeing particularly poor peasants or villages in Livonia and Esthonia, draw conclusions concerning all the country people of the empire; but they are groundless.

have exclaimed against their ordinary favourite messes, which indeed may not be highly palatable to every foreign depraved appetite. But this way of reasoning surely is not just. Who will presume to set himself up for a competent judge of taste for other men? If the russian merchant content himself with a cheap national dress, which however is by no means always the case, he is certainly to be commended for it; at the same time his wife perhaps wears as many genuine pearls upon her head-dress (that being a very usual ornament) as would buy him several handsome suits of cloaths.

The moderate taxes, the cheap living, the excellent and numerous products, the contentedness of the people, and the good regulations adopted through the empire, afford to every one who conducts himself well in his station of life, sufficient means for acquiring a competency. The majority of the russian subjects fare better in their way than the great multitude in France, Germany, Sweden, and several other countries. That the same may be said of all classes, needs not here be repeated, it having already been made apparent. — Where any deficiency is perceivable*, the fault is not to

* As is the case with numbers of vassals whose hard lot it is to belong to very severe landlords; or with tradesmen who experience a want of customers, or with a decayed merchant, &c.

be imputed to the public institutions, laws, taxes; and form of government; but to particular circumstances and unavoidable combinations, often solely to the suffering subject himself, who may be either regardless of his duties, or negligent in his accounts, or perhaps has taken up a profession for which he had not the proper talents*. But it is indisputable, that in Russia, by a propriety of behaviour, the foreigner as well as the native may soon procure a decent livelihood.

In some countries authors have attempted to calculate the whole national wealth, or at least the amount of all the natural products, and to ascertain what portion of it falls to the share of every individual. These exercises may be an amusement for idle hours, but seldom afford satisfaction to the man of science.

* This may serve as a hint to some colonists who are dissatisfied with their condition, who having obtained parcels of land, have neither inclination nor abilities to cultivate them, and therefore continue as poor as at the first coming. It is applicable to many Italians and others, who would nowhere procure a decent livelihood were they to travel the whole world over.

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